

# LUTHERAN WORLD

**PUBLICATION OF THE  
LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION**

*JUNE*

*1960*

*Vol. VII, No. 1*

**THEOLOGICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS OF  
SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY**

**WILL HERBERG**

**THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY  
IN MODERN SOCIETY**

**PETER L. BERGER**

**IDEOLOGICAL FEATURES OF MODERN  
PROTESTANT SOCIAL WORK**

**JOACHIM MATTHES**



# CONTENTS

Theological Presuppositions of Social Philosophy, by Will Herberg . . . . .	1
The Problem of Christian Community in Modern Society, by Peter L. Berger . . .	14
Ideological Features of Modern Protestant Social Work, by Joachim Matthes . . .	23

## FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

<i>LWF Executive Committee</i>	
A New Land Discovered, by William A. Dudde . . . . .	46
<i>Latin America Committee</i>	
The Growth of the Lutheran Church, by Stewart Herman . . . . .	51
<i>Stewardship</i>	
Stewardship and Congregational Life Commission Meeting in Berlin, January 11-16, 1960, by Robert W. Stackel . . . . .	53
<i>World Council of Churches, Faith and Order</i>	
Discussions on the Arnoldshain Theses . . . . .	55
<i>World Council of Churches, Youth Work</i>	
Youth and Holy Communion Conference at Driebergen, Holland, January 11-15, 1960, by Gerhard Munderlein . . . . .	62

## FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

<i>Germany</i>	
Authority in Church and State, by Peter Kraske . . . . .	68
An Ecumenical Action: "Bread for the World," by Heinrich Riedel . . . . .	76
<i>USA</i>	
The Lutheran Society for Worship, Music and the Arts, by William R. Walters . .	80
Progress Toward Lutheran Unity, by Bernhard Hillila . . . . .	84
<i>Norway</i>	
Actions: An Evangelism Program for the Churches of Norway, by Sverre Smaadahl .	88
<i>Czechoslovakia</i>	
A Brotherly Word to the Brethren in Faith, by Ján Chabada . . . . .	90

## BOOK REVIEWS

Nineteenth Century Theology (Gene Lund, Gottfried Hornig) . . . . .	93
Prenter's Dogmatics (Horst Beintker) . . . . .	96
Catholic Ecumenicity and Religious Freedom (George A. Lindbeck, Hans Bolewski) .	100
An Ecumenical Lexicon (Martin Kruse) . . . . .	104
A Theology of the Laity (Clarence C. Stoughton) . . . . .	107
Prayer Books for Family Devotions (Martin Kruse) . . . . .	110
Growth Problems of the Younger Churches (Arno Lehmann, F. Dean Lueking) . .	114
Apocalypse and Early Christianity (Gerhard Delling) . . . . .	116

CORRESPONDENCE . . . . .	119
--------------------------	-----

EDITORIAL: Ideology, Critique and the Church, by Hans Bolewski . . . . .	120
--	-----

Editorial Notes . . . . .	122
---------------------------	-----

Supplement: *Literature Survey* for June, 1960



# LUTHERAN WORLD

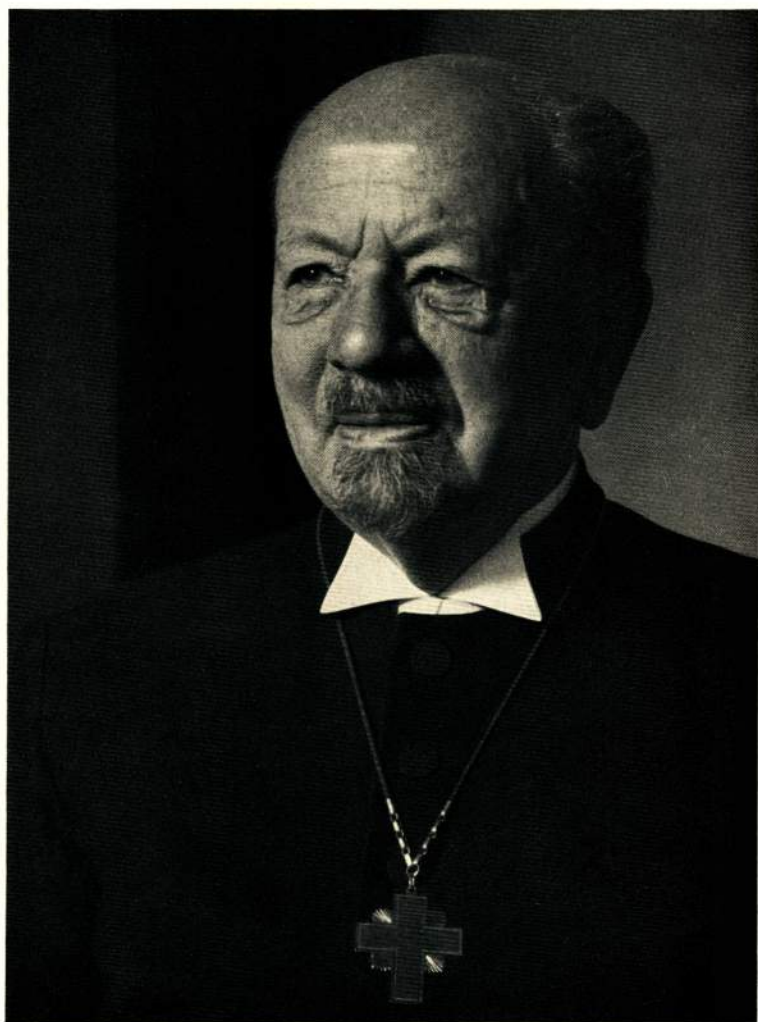
PUBLICATION OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

---

*Vol. VII, No. 1*

*June, 1960*

---



*J. Eliasson*



# Theological Presuppositions of Social Philosophy\*

WILL HERBERG

MARTIN BUBER TELLS an amusing and instructive story about how he came to be named professor of social philosophy at the Hebrew University twenty years ago. The president of the university, Judah P. Magnes, had invited him to come to Jerusalem and join the faculty, but the question arose: in what capacity, as professor of what? As professor of Jewish theology, as professor of religion, it was first suggested. But no; to that the orthodox element on the faculty, particularly strong in these fields, objected; Buber's views on the Bible and on Jewish religion were too heterodox to make him welcome there. Everybody wanted him on the faculty, but they were at their wit's end as to how to manage it. Finally, someone came up with a brilliant idea: "Let's name him professor of social philosophy!" Obviously, that was just the thing. Since no one had any idea of what social philosophy was all about, there could be no objection to his filling that chair and professing that subject. And so social philosophy it was, and social philosophy it has remained.

All good stories limp a little; none ever goes on all fours. Drew University is not afraid of unconventional thinking and I am no heretic—at least, the only heresy I am aware of in myself is the incurable heresy of being a Jew. But even at Drew the question must be asked: What is this thing, "social philosophy," which serves to cover so much ground and to bypass so many problems? It is a question to which I must address myself as I formally initiate my tenure of the professorship to which I have been named.

## I

Definitions are not easy to get at. They come rather at the end than at the beginning of serious inquiry, however much they may be presupposed logically. Instead, therefore, of attempting in scholastic fashion to lay down a definition as a point of departure, I will ask the question that seems to me to be much more manageable and much more relevant, the quasi-Kantian question: *Under what conditions does social philosophy, taken seriously, become possible?* It is a question that leads us directly to the heart of the matter.

Running deeper than all differences of philosophy and ideology is the distinction between the men and cultures that interpret ultimate reality and define the meaning of existence in terms of *nature* and those that do so in terms of *history*. The distinction is not a simple one, but it is fundamental. Nature again may be understood in two ways, either as vitality or as rational structure.

---

\* Inaugural Address delivered at the Matriculation Service of the Drew University School of Theology, October 1, 1958.



Understood as vitality, nature becomes the central category of what may properly be called heathen spirituality, a type of spirituality that informs not only the religion of primitive peoples, but also the more "dionysian" forms of vitalism and romanticism that have become such a powerful force in our own culture. Understood as rational structure, however, nature becomes the central category of the "apollonian" *logos*-philosophy which constitutes the main stream of our intellectual tradition from Plato and Aristotle to the present day. In the one case, nature is power; in the other case, it is reason: in both, however, and here we see their inner unity despite the undeniable and significant differences which separate them, in both cases what is ultimate, and what is ultimately real, is that by which things are what they are, their nature, the "*rerum natura*." It is this which is their reality and truth, and it is this to which man must somehow relate himself if he is to be "right" with that in which his being is encompassed. The Greek philosophers, who worshiped the *logos*, were always uneasily aware of what bound them to the primitive potency of being that was the enemy of the *logos*. Their whole enterprise might be interpreted as an ever renewed effort to exorcise this demon of power which shattered all the structures of reason. In this they failed; but their failure constitutes one of the most profound and moving episodes in the intellectual adventure of the human race.

It would be fascinating to pursue this theme, but it would take us too far afield. For our purposes, what is important to recognize is that neither the "dionysian" naturalism of vitality, nor the "apollonian" naturalism of rationality, provides a real possibility for social philosophy. For whatever else social philosophy is or does, it certainly must take seriously the social forms, institutions, and activities which constitute the human enterprise in history. But for vitalistic naturalism, these social forms, institutions, and activities are either the consecrated forms of the divine, and thus part of the immanent divineness of nature; or they are the dead weight of ossified non-being bearing down upon the surging vitality of life, and so must ever and again be swept aside by the "dionysian" power. In neither case do they become the possible subject-matter of a social philosophy which must see them as real, and yet as *humanly* real, and therefore as historical. Vitalistic naturalism knows nothing of history, and therefore can know nothing of genuine social existence which emerges nowhere but in history.

The consecration of social forms expresses itself in the archetypal thinking so characteristic of the nature religions, for in these nature religions the consecrated social forms become both the expression and the vehicle of the divine vitality of nature. We may think of the consecrated forms of Race and Folk if we are seeking for contemporary manifestations. But much more familiar to us is the other form of vitalistic naturalism, which sees in social structures the enemy of this divine vitality. This kind of naturalism can be brilliant and profound in its social criticism, for it clearly perceives all the deadening hypocrisies, conventionalities, and mediocrities of social institutions, and it hates them with a bitter hatred as enemies of life. One thinks of Friedrich Nietzsche,



the dedicated and inspired flayer of bourgeois sham and mediocrity; and, on a much lower level of course, one thinks of George Bernard Shaw. Both spoke in the name of the Life Force—that is, of natural vitality divinized—and both denounced existing society for its denial of this god. But neither had any sense of social reality because neither had any sense of history. Nietzsche, indeed, came to abhor history, and denounced historicism, often with telling effect, as the death of vital creativity. It is no accident that Nietzsche, in his agony, turned to the ancient doctrine of eternal recurrence as a refuge from what Mircea Eliade has tellingly called the “terror of history.” Archetypal thinking and eternal recurrence are the two ways in which vitalistic naturalism meets the challenge of history, and neither makes possible social philosophy properly so-called.

The way of life that finds real reality in rational structure or *logos* is not so far from this type of naturalism as one might imagine. After all, does not Plato himself affirm “all things” to be “full of gods,” and does not Aristotle insist that “the divine is in the nature of everything”? And do not Plato and Aristotle, and all their followers, orthodox or heterodox—including the Stoics, the atomists, and the Epicureans—take refuge in eternal recurrence when they come face to face with history? Yet there is a difference. It is not in ever surging vitality and power that the true nature of things is to be found, but in timeless being, in the eternal *logos*, in the intrinsically rational. Man finds his lodgement in reality by bringing the rationality which is his true being into union with the rationality that is the being of Being. It is hardly necessary to belabor the point that from this view of what constitutes reality, neither the concept nor a philosophy of history, least of all, a theology of history, can emerge, and indeed the Greeks had none for all the noteworthy histories they wrote. What is much more important for us to emphasize is that from this view of what constitutes reality not only no concept of history, but also no real concept of society or social philosophy, can emerge. This seems surprising, perhaps intolerably perverse, since we all know that Plato and Aristotle wrote works on social philosophy which are among our most precious possessions in this field of thought. But so did Thucydides write a great history, which we treasure. The fact of the matter is that for all their magnificent work, Plato and Aristotle could find no more secure lodgement in what they felt to be ultimately real for their social philosophy than Thucydides could find for his history. In both cases, their ontology made it impossible for them to take their social philosophy, any more than their history, with ultimate seriousness.

I say this without any intention of disparaging Plato and Aristotle as social thinkers. Indeed, I never fail to read *The Republic* of the former or the *Ethics* and *Politics* of the latter without renewed admiration, and I can conceive of no course in social philosophy in which they would not enter the discussion with their profound reflections on human life in society. And yet I must say that their ontology—the ontology of nature as eternal *logos*—makes it impossible for them to take society and social philosophy with ultimate seriousness.



Consider the strange predicament in which Plato and Aristotle find themselves in their thinking about society. Even in Plato's ideal state—the state constructed by Socrates and Glaucon in the light of the archetypal state “stored up in heaven”—even in this ideal state the philosopher is an alien. He has to be pressured—Plato almost says coerced—into playing his indispensable part in governing the *polis*. The way of life proper to him, his *bios*, is the contemplative life lived in self-sufficiency. Having come out into the light, why should he ever want to return to the cave and its darkness? He returns, but we cannot help recognizing that in doing so he has lost something of the reality and truth he had achieved. “The ultimate conclusion of Plato's ideal,” Werner Jaeger, who certainly cannot be accused of any bias against Plato, points out, “was to shun all actual states and to live as a metic (*xenikos bios*) . . . The solution was not to act, . . . neither to rule nor to be ruled”;<sup>1</sup> and this is indeed what the followers of Socrates and Plato were driven to do, by the force of circumstance as well as by the logic of their position. There is nothing in the Platonic picture of ultimate reality that can make life in society real and significant, and there is everything that denies it that status. Plato struggled with this question throughout his life, with no success; his followers and disciples gave up the struggle entirely—social philosophy is hardly more than peripheral in the later Platonic tradition until well into modern times.

It is important to note that this incompatibility between the philosophic way of life and the life of society is not something that concerns the philosopher simply as such. For the philosophic way of life is the “life according to reason,” and therefore the *human* way of life; it is the life normative for men insofar as they are truly human. True enough, in the *Republic*, Plato places the vast majority of the members of the polis into positions which have very little to do with the “life according to reason”: the Producers are dominated by the “appetitive” impulses, and their virtue in “temperance,” or restraint, while the Auxiliaries are endowed with “spirit” and find their appropriate virtue in “courage.” In neither case is reason in its true sense implied; the Producers can do with their technical skill, and the Auxiliaries with mere “right opinion” (*orthē doxa*). Only the Rulers live the full “life according to reason.” But then only the Rulers—that is, the philosophers—are truly human. What Plato seems to be saying, and what his followers say quite explicitly, is that while in any actual society, non-philosophers are obviously necessary—who else would bake the bread and fight the battles?—they serve their purpose at the expense of their true humanness, which is their reason (*nous*). That is why the life of society is no life for the philosopher, unless perchance he finds himself as ruler of an ideal state, and even then only dubiously. Life in society in any sense in which the sociality is more than merely external is essentially incompatible with the truly human way which is the “life according to reason.” This is the inescapable conclusion, which

<sup>1</sup> Werner Jaeger, *Aristotle* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 281-282.



engenders not only its own epistemology and its own ethics, but also its own social philosophy, even if in the end it turns out to be the negation of any possible social philosophy. All our appreciation of Plato's profound reflections about human life in society and his rich insights into contemporary Greek social life cannot obscure this conclusion.

Is it very different with Aristotle? True, Aristotle—as Jaeger emphasizes and reemphasizes—makes a sustained and conscious effort to escape from the Platonic dilemma. But does he succeed? He certainly knows how to appreciate man's sociality. It is he, indeed, who defines man as “by nature” a “political animal” (*phusei politikon zoon*), that is, a social being; it is he who subjects man's social existence to a searching analysis, at once philosophical and empirical; it is he, most important of all, who—here again I quote Jaeger—strives to replace “Plato's shattered mythical synthesis of knowledge and life” by a picture of the “life according to reason” that is not at odds with, but rather requires, life in society. Yet what is the outcome? After the first nine books of the *Ethics* comes the tenth, and the tenth is devoted, in large part, to the “contemplative life,” described in terms that bring us right back to the Platonic predicament. “For contemplation,” Aristotle teaches us, “is the highest form of activity, since reason is the highest thing in us, and the objects that come within its range are the highest things known. . . . Again, self-sufficiency will be found in an exceptional degree in the exercise of contemplation. The wise man as much as the just man and everyone else, must, of course, have the necessities of life. But given an adequate supply of these, the just man needs people with and toward whom he may put his justice into operation; and we can say the same thing about the temperate man, the brave man, and so on. But the wise man, however, can contemplate truth quite alone, and the wiser he is, the better he can do it. Doubtless, it helps to have fellow workers, but for all that he is the most self-sufficient of men. . . . Political and military activities, while preeminent among good activities in beauty and grandeur, are full of restlessness and are chosen not for their own sake but with a view to some higher end, whereas the activity of the reason is felt to excel in seriousness, taking as it does the form of contemplation, and not to aim at any end beyond itself. . . . In this activity, we easily recognize self-sufficiency, the possibility of leisure, and such freedom from fatigue as is humanly possible, together with all the other attributes of the highest happiness.”<sup>2</sup>

It is impossible to miss the import of this line of argument. For the man who lives the life of true being, the life that actualizes his highest potentiality (reason), and is therefore capable of providing the highest happiness, society as such is not necessary, for this life is self-sufficient and requires no other human beings for its practice. Aristotle, of course, recognizes two things which are not unrelated: first, that this true life of man is no longer merely human, but divine; and secondly, that actual man must live in a society if he is to have his

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book X, Chap. vii, 1177a-1177b.



requirements, moderate though they may be, in any way satisfied. "Such a life," he says, referring to the true life of contemplation, "is too high to be merely human. It is not to be lived by us in our merely human capacity, but in virtue of something divine in us. . . ." <sup>3</sup> But since, for all the element of the divine in us, we nevertheless remain human, we will, Aristotle does not let us forget, "need the added help of external goods," <sup>4</sup> which can only be obtained by living in society. But this need is altogether secondary and extrinsic. What is primary and intrinsic is stated by Aristotle with exemplary clarity: "We may apply here the rule already laid down—the rule that what is proper to the nature of a thing is the best and pleasantest for that thing. Since it is reason that is most truly man, it is the life according to reason (the life of the intellect) that is at once best and happiest for man" <sup>5</sup>—and this life is obviously (that is, obviously to Aristotle) self-sufficient and non-social.

The point I have been trying to make should now be clear. Aristotle, no more than Plato, can find meaning for social life that is more than merely extrinsic, something to be transcended, or at least relegated to a very subordinate place, in the life that is lived according to man's highest possibility of being. Clearly with such an ontology and ethic—and here the differences between Plato and Aristotle are merely secondary—no social philosophy in the serious sense of the term can emerge.

## II.

Let me now repeat my thesis. When reality is understood as *nature*, seen either as vitality or as rational structure, no possibility of social philosophy in the serious sense of the term appears, because from such a standpoint community does not seem to be part of ontological reality and life in society is regarded as falling far short of man's highest possibility of being. Only when reality is understood as in some sense *history* does community receive a secure grounding in reality and social philosophy acquire the significance that alone can entitle it to that name. History, personality, and community belong together. Man as he appears in history is always a person, never a mere organism and never just discarnate reason. Personality in history always appears in the context of community; while history itself, on one level at least, issues forth as the dramatic elaboration of the personal encounters of men in society. Only men can have a history in the true sense of the term, but the men who are thus capable of having a history are men whose highest possibility of being is not achieved apart from or contrary to the social structure of the history of which they are part. Community is not something external to their true humanness, as it cannot help being in

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, *op. cit.*, Book X, chap. vii, 1177b. Cp. Werner Marx, *The Meaning of Aristotle's Ontology* (The Hague Nijhoff, 1954), p. 12. "Aristotle shows in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (*Nic. Eth.*, 1177a, 11 ff.) how the activity which is determined by *Nous*—when carried out in the highest possible way (*kat' areten*)—constitutes man's highest possibility-to-be. In fact, it is so high that it is 'not human any more' (*ibid.*, 1177a 27, 28), but 'divine' (*theion*)."

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle, *op. cit.*, Book X, chap. viii, 1178b.

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle, *op. cit.*, Book X, chap. vii, 1178a.



Greek thought; it is part of the very substance of their historicity. If one thus sees in history and historical existence the texture of reality for man, social philosophy becomes something that can deal with human being in its full reality, however abstractly its method may force it to view that being.

The understanding of human being as essentially historical, the insistence on the historicity of man, is, of course, characteristically biblical and Hebraic. "For the Hindu," an English writer has noted, "the historical is the illusory; for the Greek, it is the incidental; for the Hebrew, it is that which is real."<sup>6</sup> If today, the historical consciousness has come to pervade the thinking of so much of the world, it is a sign of how far and wide the biblical-Hebraic outlook has spread, though often in perverse and distorted, indeed, hardly recognizable, forms.

Taking up the question that I placed at the beginning of this discourse, "Under what conditions does social philosophy, taken seriously, become possible?", I should say that the first part of the answer at least is: *the essential historicity of man*. Only if, with whatever qualifications, we can say with Reinhold Niebuhr, "The human person and man's society are by nature historical, and the ultimate truth about (human) life must be mediated historically,"<sup>7</sup> can we launch the inquiry known as social philosophy without the peril of having it stultified by the loss of its subject matter, historical man in society.

If what I have been saying is all true, it means that social philosophy is peculiarly congenial to the outlook defined in biblical faith. But it will have to be a social philosophy largely recast and deriving from other sources than the Platonic-Aristotelian tradition whence so much of our Western social and political thinking is drawn. It will have to be frankly and self-consciously historical, and that means eschatological. For insofar as history is taken seriously, that is, insofar as it is seen as a creative movement leading somewhere, it is eschatologically structured, however obscured that structure may be by overlying ideologies. Historical meaning is always, though often only implicitly, a question of direction and goal. "We make sense of the question as to the essence of history," Jakob Taubes rightly notes, "only if we ask about the *eschaton*. For in the *eschaton* history overpasses its own bounds and becomes visible to itself."<sup>8</sup> Without an *eschaton*, history—and that, remember, means human existence—collapses into ultimate meaninglessness, into nothingness.

It may seem strange to think of social philosophy in an eschatological perspective, but this strangeness is the result of the fact that even here we cannot help thinking in naturalistic or rationalistic terms, that is, of man as a natural organism driven by his vitalities or as a discarnate mind struggling to rise above the encumbrances of history and society. If we take our emphasis on history seriously, and define social philosophy in that context, it becomes almost self-

<sup>6</sup> William Robinson, *Whither Theology* (Lutterworth, 1947), p. 76.

<sup>7</sup> Reinhold Niebuhr, "Religion and Education", *Religious Education*, November-December, 1953.

<sup>8</sup> Jakob Taubes, *Abendländische Eschatologie* (Bern: A. Francke Verlag, 1947), p. 3.



evident that any attempt to understand man in society must see both man and society in their historicity, and that means in their eschatological structure.

The Christian social philosopher, insofar as he is Christian in his thinking as well as in his piety, will attempt to see the social phenomena he studies in the perspective defined by the biblical-Christian scheme of redemptive history. He will be ever ready to learn from Plato and Aristotle, from Hegel and Marx, from Vico and Herder, from Toynbee and Spengler, and be grateful for what he can learn; but he will not be able to look at the world with their eyes or to interpret it in their terms. He will see social phenomena, institutions, and activities as emerging out of an historical matrix defined on the one side by the protological act of creation and on the other by the eschatological act of redemption, and permeated through and through by the tension in which it stands between its beginning and its end. The general scheme in the perspective of which the Christian social philosopher will see his material is set forth with extraordinary power and insight by Saint Augustine in *The City of God*; indeed, it is from Saint Augustine, as we observe him dealing with the great social problems of the time, with the State and Empire, with marriage, the family, property, slavery, and war, that we get a glimpse of the authentic Christian social philosopher at work. We may disagree with his conclusions, we may not think much of him as an historian, we may deplore certain extraneous and distracting elements in his thinking; but we cannot doubt that in his social philosophy at least, he was making a sustained effort to think as a Christian, to interpret society, economics, and politics in terms of the Christian understanding of the life of man moving between creation, sin, and redemption.

The overall framework within which Augustine interprets the social phenomena with which he is concerned is the three-phase scheme of redemptive history already current in Jewish thought at the time of Christ and expounded in the teaching of the Tannaim, the rabbinic masters of the age of the Mishnah. N. N. Glatzer formulates this outlook in terms that Augustine could well have used and in fact did use:

Election, defection, and return are the three great periods in which history is seen as running its course... Election without defection would be an assumption of paradisaical historylessness; the fall gives impulse to history. Fall without return, however, would mean history surrendered and planless. Between fall and return, history completes its course.<sup>9</sup>

Creation—for God's great primordial act of election was creation—creation, fall, and return: these are Augustine's primary points of reference, and it is wonderful to watch how consistently he keeps them in mind in his social thinking, and how fruitful this *heilgeschichtlich* approach turns out to be in dealing with the actual institutions and practices of social and political life. It is this above

<sup>9</sup> Nahum N. Glatzer, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichtslehre der Tannaiten* (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1933), pp. 35-36.



all—consistency of fundamental outlook and ever renewed relevance of application—that the Christian social philosopher has to learn from Augustine.

The crucial difficulty lies, of course, in holding the three elements—creation, fall, and redemption—together. Creation without fall is indeed, as Glatzer says, an “assumption of paradisaical historylessness”: it is substantially this assumption that has vitiated the idealist tradition, religious as well as secular, and has turned it into a sophisticated system of illusionism. On the other hand, seeing man in his fallenness, without seeing that fallenness as a falling away from a primal “rightness” and as destined for a restoration to a final “rightness,” leads to Manicheism, and to the kind of cynical de-valuation of life that so shocks us in Machiavelli, with its inevitable consequence of the idolatrization of some proximate good in an effort to revalidate what has been drained of value—I have in mind Machiavelli’s divinization of the *patria*, whether Italy or Florence. Emphasis on redemption, dissociated from creation, is no less confusing; it is the perennial vice of gnosticism, it is the first great Christian heresy of Marcionism, and it is (as Michael B. Foster so brilliantly shows in his classic work, *The Political Philosophies of Plato and Hegel*) the vitiating fault of the Hegelian synthesis. Hegel, Foster points out, is “steeped in the Christian teachings of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Redemption, . . . but he has failed to assimilate the truth of the Christian doctrine of Creation,”<sup>10</sup> and therefore even what he has appropriated becomes distorted and misleading, as almost every phase of his philosophy of society bears witness. It is here, as at so many other points, that Judaic studies become so important to the Christian theologian and social philosopher, for the emphasis on creation, and on the implications of creation for our life in history, is an emphasis that (as Foster himself notes) runs through Jewish religious thinking from the Old Testament to Martin Buber.

The Christian social philosopher must live and work in this dialectic tension of creation, fall, and redemption, and learn to recognize the pattern in the distorted and truncated forms in which he finds it in such thinkers as Hegel, Marx, and Condorcet. For the Christian social philosopher, moreover, this tension is redoubled by the specifically Christian direction of his biblical faith, for in his Christian commitment he sees not merely creation, fall, and redemption; he sees a redemption which has already come and yet is to come again. (Something of the same problem, to be sure, emerges within the context of Judaism, the redemption that came with Exodus-Sinai but is yet to come with the Messiah; the emphasis and implications, however, are so different that we are justified, I think, in dealing with this problem as characteristically Christian, and as such I will deal with it.)

We are thus forced back again upon eschatology; there is no escaping it. How we envisage this “already” and “not yet” will have the most far-reaching consequences for our social philosophy. Neither a thoroughly “futuristic” nor

<sup>10</sup> M. B. Foster, *The Political Philosophies of Plato and Hegel* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 138, 203.



a thoroughly "realized" eschatology will do: the one brushes aside the present actuality as but a kind of suspended animation before the "end"; the other spiritualizes it and converts it into a kind of elaborate sacramental allegory of an achieved divine reality. An exclusively "futuristic" eschatology is impatient with social existence here and now and cannot think it important enough to be worth studying; an exclusively "realized" eschatology, on the other hand, has passed out of time and history into eternity, and thus has virtually arrived as a quasi-Platonistic "de-realization" of the empirical, which is now no more than an emblem of the spiritual. The consequences of the two, from our point of view, are not so very different. Even in the second "dialectical" version of the *Der Römerbrief* (1922), Karl Barth still speaks of social institutions as parables, as "shadow pictures of the outlines of (God)" <sup>11</sup>—how different is that, one may ask, from the Origenistic spirituality of the first edition (1919)? <sup>12</sup>

For a creative social philosophy, the eschatological framework must be genuinely dialectical—the "already" and the "not-yet" held in a tension not to be prematurely resolved one way or the other. I do not want to be compelled to choose, but if anything, an unequivocally "realized" eschatology would seem to be more dangerous than an unequivocally "futuristic" one, for an unequivocally "realized" eschatology destroys that orientation to the future, that openness to what is to come, without which neither biblical faith nor a Christian social philosophy can have much meaning.<sup>13</sup> At any rate, the dialectic cannot be relaxed; social institutions and activities of actual (that is, fallen) history are to be seen as moving not merely between the poles of creation and redemption, but also between a redemption that has come and a redemption that is yet to come. In this "interim" period, in Augustine's "*in hoc interim saeculo*," the drama of contemporary life—and, of course, all life is contemporary—is performed in its endless elaborations.

If we maintain the dialectical tension between creation, fall, and redemption, between a redemption that has come and is nevertheless yet to come, we have the possibility of a social philosophy that is at once realistic and critical, at once capable of grasping the empirical actuality of things and of seeing beyond the given and the empirical. It is made realistic by its recognition of the enduring reality of the created world, and in another sense, by its perception of the pervasive effects of sin upon human life in history. But it is not imprisoned in its realism, for it can look beyond the historical actuality to the eschatological reality, which, on its part, is already working in the present, so that the man of faith, while in the world, and active within it, is never entirely *of* it, since he finds true rightness

<sup>11</sup> Karl Barth, *Der Römerbrief*, 2te Auflage (Munich, 1922), p. 472.

<sup>12</sup> Karl Barth, *Der Römerbrief* (Bern, 1919): See Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Karl Barth: Darstellung und Deutung seiner Theologie* (Cologne: Verlag Jakob Hegner, 1951), pp. 71-75.

<sup>13</sup> It is not without significance that C. H. Dodd, the most effective advocate of "realized" eschatology, has found it necessary to subject this conception to radical qualification. In a little noticed footnote to his work, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge, 1953), he writes: "The not altogether felicitous term 'realized eschatology' may serve as a label. Emendations of it which have been suggested for the avoidance of misunderstandings are Professor Georges Florovsky's 'inaugurated eschatology' and Professor Joachim Jeremias' '*sich realisierende Eschatologie*,' which I like but cannot translate into English" (p. 447, note 1). To replace "realized" by "inaugurated," or even "*sich realisierende*," would seem to be something more than an "emendation."



being only in the eschatological future. The dialectical approach makes it possible to have ideas without falling victim to ideologies, to make discriminate judgments without making these judgments absolute, to detect provisional realizations without claiming to see final fulfillments in history. This dialectical tension disappears in any philosophical or theological outlook that sees the "end" as already in the past with no real future to look to. Nor is the tension better preserved—indeed, it is completely lost—when the eschatological drama is so interpreted that it is no longer a total vision of human destiny, but a kind of existentialist allegory of the self's interior life of decision and self-understanding.

So far I have been arguing that social philosophy, in a serious and significant sense, can only emerge out of an historical context in which history itself is eschatologically structured, yet not for that reason drained of its creativity. But is this view of history a real possibility for the Christian who understands himself as living "between the times"? For the Christian, what of real importance can happen in world history now that the Christ has come—at least until his return in power and glory? "Christians," Karl Löwith says, "are not an historical people.... In Christianity, the history of salvation is related to the salvation of each single soul, . . . and the contributions of the nations to the Kingdom of God is measured by the number of the elect, not by any corporate achievement or failure...." <sup>14</sup> (Interestingly enough, Franz Rosenzweig spoke of the Jew as standing in the same position, standing *seitenblicklos* "staring ahead," glancing neither to the right nor to the left, his eyes fixed on the "end.") John Baillie, theologically and temperamentally so far from Löwith, comes to very much the same conclusion. "Have the years of grace," he asks, and by the "years of grace" he means, of course, the years between the first and second coming of Christ, "have the years of grace any interior pattern of their own of a forward-moving kind or do they form, when regarded qualitatively, a merely static period within the forward movement of the history of salvation?" <sup>15</sup> Baillie's answer, on the basis of what he takes to be New Testament teaching, is that the only historical task that remains for Christians in the "years of grace," if historical it can be called, is to spread the gospel and wait for the end and renewal of all things. Such a view obviously makes social philosophy both unnecessary and impossible; at most, perhaps, it will allow a sociology of the mission enterprise, and even that is dubious.

Is there no way out of this dilemma? Must social philosophy really be given up if one is to remain true to the Christian commitment? I think not. A way out, it seems to me, can be found on the basis of a view in which world history and redemptive history are held together in a dialectical relation which is neither complete identity (as it is for the idealists) nor complete separation (as it seems

<sup>14</sup> Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History* (Chicago, 1949), pp. 195-196.

<sup>15</sup> John Baillie, *The Belief in Progress* (Scribner's, 1951), pp. 210-211.



to be for Löwith and even for Baillie). It is a view in which the "end" of history to which biblical *Heilsgeschichte* points is understood as not merely the successor of the present age, but also in some sense its fulfillment and completion.

This is the position taken by Reinhold Niebuhr and Emil Brunner, among others. Brunner insists that the "restoration" (*apokatastasis*) which biblical faith envisages for the "end-time" is to be understood as more than a simple return to the beginning. "The end of time and the beginning," he says, "are not the same. . . . Between the two points, the start and the finish, something happens, which *even for God* is real and significant. There is history, an individual and universal human history" (emphasis added).<sup>16</sup> If this is indeed so, if the corporate achievements of mankind do indeed enter into the restored order of things, then history—yes, "secular" history—must be granted genuine importance, and a social philosophy in our sense becomes possible. It is only if we take some such view that we can assert with Reinhold Niebuhr that "the *agape* of the kingdom of God is a resource for indeterminate developments. . . in history."<sup>17</sup> But if one does not assert this, history would seem to lose its ultimate meaning, even its substance, and with it any recognizable social philosophy as well, for the two go together. It is another question whether this view is compatible with some of the theologies enjoying currency and influence in the world today.

### III.

I hope I have done something to delineate some of the conditions under which social philosophy, and in particular, a Christian social philosophy, becomes possible; and in this way also perhaps to indicate what social philosophy, and particularly Christian social philosophy, is like. But if social philosophy bears any resemblance to what I have depicted, the question must arise: how does it differ from theology, and what relation, if any, does it bear to sociology?

In neither direction, I think we will have to recognize, is the distinction absolute; yet it is real and important both ways. Social philosophy does not differ from sociology, as some people think, in that sociology is allegedly purely empirical and unembarrassed with theologico-philosophical presuppositions, while social philosophy admittedly cannot do without such unempirical and "unscientific" encumbrances. The most empirical sociology, as the best sociologists themselves are beginning to recognize,<sup>18</sup> cannot operate without presuppositions—presuppositions about reality, about man and human life—which are quite philosophical, and like it or not, even theological; while social philosophy would lose its value, perhaps even its meaning, if it did not constantly preserve its empirical reference. The difference would seem to me to be rather this: that

<sup>16</sup> Emil Brunner, *Christianity and Civilization* (Scribner's, 1948), First Part, p. 49.

<sup>17</sup> Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (Scribner's, 1943), Vol. II, p. 85.

<sup>18</sup> See, e.g., Gunnar Myrdal, *Value in Social Theory*, ed. by Paul Streeten (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), and Howard Becker, *Through Values to Social Interpretation* (Duke, 1950). See also Will Herberg, "Faith and Secular Learning," in John A. Hutchison, ed., *Christian Faith and Social Action* (Scribner's, 1953).



whereas sociology, even when it becomes aware of them, takes its presuppositions for granted, it is the business of social philosophy, or at least part of its business, to subject these presuppositions themselves to critical examination, and to relate them to the movement of thought, on the one hand, and to the ongoing realities of social life, on the other. Social philosophy is fundamentally philosophy, and like all philosophy it is an implicit theology.

In distinguishing itself from sociology, social philosophy comes close to theology; but here too the distinction is real and important. The fundamental orientation of social philosophy is philosophical and theological—in the case of Christian social philosophy, explicitly so—but its work is not to elaborate the theological system; it is, rather, to relate its theological position to social reality and social thought, not in order to show its relevance (that is the task of the branch of theology known as apologetics), but in order to make use of the theological teaching for the understanding of its own proper subject matter. Social philosophy, in a way, mediates between theology and sociology, and yet in another way, carries on a work beyond the jurisdiction, perhaps even beyond the competence, of both. The social philosopher, as I see him, is one who, consciously taking his stand within the circle of theological presuppositions, strives to illumine and to understand the social life and thought of mankind.

I do not flatter myself that I have answered the question with which I began. In a way, I would not be displeased to leave the question unanswered, so that social philosophy can continue to mean very much what one wants it to mean. But in trying to outline the theological conditions under which social philosophy becomes possible, I have at least given some intimation of the studies I have in mind to pursue as professor of social philosophy. In the pursuance of these studies, and the Judaic studies with which, in my professorship, they are associated, I bespeak the blessing of Almighty God and the aid and assistance of my colleagues at Drew University, theologians and sociologists alike.



# The Problem of Christian Community in Modern Society

PETER L. BERGER

THE PROBLEM INDICATED in our title can be approached in a number of different ways. There are avenues of theological, historical or sociological analysis. There is always the possibility of drawing up blueprints, an enterprise that easily becomes quixotic. Perhaps most commonly the problem is approached within our churches in a spirit of nostalgia for a past period in which, supposedly, the problem did not exist. We shall only take two avenues here which, in our opinion, serve to focus the problem most sharply: one the avenue of sociological analysis, the other best described as a path of uneasy reflection suggested by Anders Nygren's typology of *agape* and *eros*.

As soon as one enters the sociological universe of discourse, the term "community" conjures up specific associations. The most common association will be identification of the term with Ferdinand Toennies' *Gemeinschaft*, that is, a social structure in which, by contrast with *Gesellschaft*, people relate to each other in profound, "holistic" ways. This association can easily be translated into terms more common to American sociology by saying that in a *Gemeinschaft* social relationships occur mainly in "primary groups," while in a *Gesellschaft* they occur mainly in "secondary groups." Thus the typical family in western civilization represents *Gemeinschaft*, while the typical business office represents *Gesellschaft*.

Toennies' concepts have been very useful in a great variety of sociological investigations, such as studies of socialization, of bureaucracy, of the social processes of industry, and many others. All these studies tend towards the general conclusion that, following the industrial revolution, our western civilization has enormously enlarged its *Gesellschaft* sector, while *Gemeinschaft* has shrunk correspondingly. Speaking in that sociologist's dialect which (if that is possible) is even more barbaric in German than in English, we can say that since the industrial revolution our civilization has been subject to an ever more rapid and thorough *Vergesellschaftung*. At the same time, in response to what are undoubtedly deep drives of human nature, new forms of *Gemeinschaft* continually spring up in the midst of the *Gesellschaft* structures. This has been most dramatically illustrated in industrial sociology, ever since the famous Western Electric experiments as expounded by Elton Mayo and as incorporated into the ideology of "human relations." The contemporary "family renaissance" is very probably another important expression of the drive for *Gemeinschaft* in an age that forces people to live most of their lives in large, impersonal, bureaucratically organized structures.



It is these sociological complexes which underlie the popular slogan of "mass society," a slogan which began as an attempt to grasp conceptually what is happening, but which today has taken on an almost demonological connotation. Even in very sober discussions the term and its application is shot through with the implication that modern society is as Gomorrah to a Jerusalem of pre-industrial *Gemeinschaft*. This is true of Ortega y Gasset and of David Riesman, though less so of the latter. It is even true at least of the early studies of urbanization in America, the work of the so-called Chicago School of Urban Sociology. In a recent address Truman Douglass aptly quoted a short poem by Ogden Nesh as expressing beautifully the attitude of especially Protestant Americans to the modern metropolis. The poem, referring to the Bronx, a large section of metropolitan New York City, states succinctly:

The Bronx?

No Thonx!—

It is quite impossible to approach modern society with a different animus. The work of Georg Simmel can serve as a healthy corrective to this kind of bucolic nostalgia, especially Simmel's discussion of the metropolis as the social habitat of freedom. It is interesting in this connection that the anti-urban animus is mainly an attitude of the city dwellers themselves. Rural people continue to view the city and its mass society as the place of freedom, opportunity and personal expansiveness. This, of course, is why the exodus from the countryside into the city continues throughout western civilization. From the viewpoint of sociological analysis it is not difficult to decide which of the two attitudes, that of the city dwellers dreaming of the country and that of the country dwellers dreaming of the city, is closer to reality. Certainly there are many illusions about "urbanity" glittering into the Podunks and Kraehwinkels of our world. But the illusions of the ruralistic nostalgia are by far the greater ones. Simmel put his finger on the crucial point. The city is the locale of freedom. And it is precisely because of its "mass" character that this is so. It might be added that this is not a peculiarity of modern times, but was even true in classical and pre-classical times. Only within a *Gesellschaft* can personal freedom develop to its fullest potentiality. The *Gemeinschaft* is, indeed, the locale of deep roots, belonging and loyalties. At the same time it is the locale of thwarted development, of pervasive conservatism, of gossip as a potent mechanism of social control over all parts of the individual's life. Needless to say, this is not to deny the novel threats to personal freedom brought about by mass organization and mass communication. However, these problems cannot even be faced realistically as long as we continue to view modern society as an incarnation of evil.

We would contend that, contrary to prevailing prejudices, modern society provides quite new and highly significant opportunities for community. Modern society frees the individual from many of the traditional bondages. Modern society enables the individual to find his own community, a community that will express his freedom, his individual interest, even his eccentricities. We



would suggest that the viewpoint that "community" and "mass society" are contradictory terms ought to be rejected.

This sociological analysis impinges on the churches as much as on other social institutions, not least because in the churches there exists a particularly strong anti-urban animus, both in Europe and in America. In view of the singular inability of the churches, especially the Protestant ones, to adapt themselves intellectually and practically to the changes brought about by the industrial revolution, this is quite understandable. The animus here is easily evocative of pictures. We see before us a peaceful village, the houses grouped around the church spire, evening calm, farmers returning from the fields in friendly conversation, greeted eagerly by wife and children. The counter-image to this pastoral idyll would be a picture of the New York subway in the afternoon rush-hour. The implication then is again that the village scene is somehow more Christian than that of the counter-image.

We need not here dig into the theological implications of these conceptions. May it suffice again to quote Truman Douglass, who aptly points out that the notion that one is closer to God on the hills than in the city goes back in a straight line to the Baalim, the venerable rustic enemies of the God of Israel. What is more important at the moment is that the concepts of community which our churches attempt to preserve in modern society are frequently agrarian concepts totally out of place in the urban situation. As a result, the real problems are not perceived and the churches fail to face up to the immense challenges of the city. The American church sociologist H. Paul Douglass has analysed this throughout his life work. The overall sociological category to describe the process is that of "cultural lag." It is well expressed by the guilt feelings of the urban housewife, guilty because she does not have "neighborly" relations with the people living next door in her huge apartment house, but who not only feels no guilt about, but is quite unaware of the desperate problems of the slum down the block. Perhaps the epitome of this naïveté was recently expressed by Billy Graham, shocked to the core of his charismatic self by the amorous goings-on in the public parks of London, commenting on the "moral purity" he found by comparison in the cities of the Soviet Union. Evidently such an attitude completely distorts the real question as to what Christian community ought to be in modern society. Whatever answer we may come up with, Christian community is certainly *not* the establishment of agrarian enclaves within urban culture. There is no reason, other than that of personal taste, why Christians cannot welcome the possibilities of highly individuated community that modern society has to offer.

A very different train of thoughts can be started in our minds if we associate the term "community" with its cognates in the Bible and in church history—*kahal*, *koinonia*, *ekklesia*, *communio sanctorum*—or even *ecclesiola*, *collegium pietatis*, *Gemeinschaft* not in the sense of Toennies but of, say, the Swabian Pietists. We can, of course, easily veer off at this point into ecclesiological



doctrine. But we can also stop short of too much theological cerebration and attempt to relate this perspective to the sociological analysis just left behind. We might say quite simply that "community" in this perspective is concerned with finding social forms in which *agape* can express itself. We can then ask whether "community," in the sociological sense outlined above, is likely to do this. At this point our uneasiness as Christians becomes acute. For we come to the realization that "community" in all its possible social manifestations will be a community of *eros*, as much in modern society as in the closely-knit, traditionally integrated village of the past. Our Christian concern, however, is not to offset one type of "erotic" community against another one. The community which we seek is the community of *agape*. (It can be seen in passing here that the ruralistic image of community, insofar as it understands itself as Christian can be theologically criticized as confusing *eros* and *agape*. Since our main purpose here is not a critique of this position, we need not elaborate this point.)

How is this uneasiness to be related to the realities of our existence in society?

Let it be said quickly that this is not a peculiarly modern problem. It sets in as soon as there begins the process which Max Weber called "routinization" (*Veralltäglichung*) in a religious movement. The ideal-typical situation in terms of the sociology of religion is the transition from sect to church (in the sociological, not theological, sense of these terms). The close community of believers, sociologically visible in the nascent stage of the movement, now becomes dissipated in the large structures of ecclesiastical organization. In the development of the Christian religion the uneasiness becomes all the sharper because *agape*, in any empirically meaningful sense, appears an impossibility within the "catholicity" of ecclesiastical organization. The appearance again and again in church history of various forms of an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, not to mention a variety of sectarian schisms, can partially be interpreted as the effort to re-discover social forms in which *agape* could be empirically expressed.

A community in which this would be possible, in the full sense of Nygren's concept, would look strange indeed to a sociologist's eye. We are probably safe in assuming that this only occurs in the heavenly curriculum which re-trains sociologists as angelologists. Yet efforts in this direction are scattered throughout church history. If we take Nygren's concept literally, a community based on *agape* would be one in which each member bases all his actions solely on what he considers the *others'* needs to be. If we were going to imagine ourselves, in our contemporary situation, engaged in such an enterprise, we would have to choose all our friends exclusively by the criterion of who needs us most. Very probably this would not include the people of greatest interest to us as individuals. It does not require great imagination to see that this would spell the end of society and sociability as we now know it. In view of another contemporary image, which sees the Christian community as a kind of family, we ought to add most emphatically that such a community would also spell the end of our monogamous family. *Eros* builds communities that include and exclude at the



same time. The same family bonds which build the walls of the home define these walls as the limits beyond which the outsider cannot go, except on occasion and by special invitation. Anyone who has lived as a bachelor in the family-centred society of, for example, America's suburbia will not require much elaboration on this point. A community of *agape*, by Nygren's definition, would have to be pretty much the opposite of a family, that is, a community totally open to all who wish to enter. Especially Protestants, so prone to identify with Christian community the coziness of the bourgeois family circle, would do well to heed the Christian witness of the monastic ideal on this point.

With this we come to an important sociological insight. If we can imagine *agape* as a principle underlying empirical communities, we will have to imagine these communities as radically different from the normal social forms, not only in a modern but in any society. We could even formulate this insight more sharply. *Agape* as a principle is destructive of community as empirically available. Nor, indeed, should this surprise us theologically. We are, of course, dealing here with what Reinhold Niebuhr calls the "impossible possibility" of realising Christian ethics in the world.

It would be far beyond the scope of this article to engage in a sociological analysis of the various attempts to establish communities based on *agape* as the principle of association. The most important area of investigation, of course, would be in the sociology of monasticism. From the earliest beginnings of Christian monasticism we find the awareness that, socially as well as in other ways, the monastic ideal is a "life against nature." An interesting line of investigation would be to trace the concepts of "particularisation" in monastic discipline. Repeatedly we find the injunction that the monk or nun must be totally committed in love to all and everyone in the community, not to bind himself in "particularized" friendship with selected individuals. The natural bonds of family and friendship are handicaps in the realisation of this *agape*, not only within the monastic community but in the service to the outside world as well. Again, Protestants would do well to take seriously in this connection the Christian witness of the ideal of clerical celibacy. Be this as it may, within the Protestant fold the same aspiration of total commitment, with the concomitant surrender of the "particularization" of *eros*, can be found in various sectarian and communitarian movements. The condemnation of the family by the Shaker movement would be a good case in point. The Oneida community, a somewhat secularized offspring of Protestant *Schwärmerei* in 19th century America, grotesquely illustrates the same ideal—except that the condemnation of "particularization" here takes the form of communal promiscuity instead of communal celibacy. In all these movements, as in monasticism, *agape* is understood as a Christian exodus from the social forms of the world and becomes the criterion for new forms of community conceived to be specifically Christian.

The sociology of these attempts to empiricise *agape* is very largely a study of failure. If there is anything that could be called a sociological law, Weber's



concept of "routinization" would fall in this category. Again and again its iron operation reveals the precariousness of religious commitment in history. The same cycles of enthusiasm, decay and renaissance, cycle following cycle, can be found in the history of monasticism, of American revivalistic movements, of Russian sects, of almost any example chosen at random from church history. In some cases we see these movements perish physically. In others, their original impetus becomes traditionalized, settling down into empty forms. In others again, the *élan* of the movement is domesticated and harnessed to the power purposes of ecclesiastical organization. Again we would contend that these sociological findings should not surprise us theologically, least of all if we are Lutherans. *Agape* is the activity of God, not an effort of men. Sociological analysis serves here as an empirical footnote to the theological assertion that men cannot preempt the kingdom of God.

The problem of Christian community in modern society can be explicated with the help of four types, providing us with models of solutions. It is not suggested that these types are exhaustive, but they can serve to bring the problem into sharper focus.

The first model would be the Christian community as an exclusive company of what Weber called religious *virtuosi* (we could add, *virtuosi* of *agape*). Both monastic and communitarian movements are examples of this, also such movements as the "Holiness" sects in American Protestantism. Seen sociologically, these movements typically appear as the first stage in a cycle of decay. Also seen sociologically, these movements, insofar as they survive in history, become religious enclaves, refuges from the problems of society, *ipso facto* incapable of bringing the Christian faith to bear upon these problems. Seen theologically, these movements are attempts to preempt the *eschaton*. They set up a perfectionist ideal for their members which distorts the meaning of the Christian life and at the same time surrender the prophetic mission of the Christian church.

The second model would be the Christian community as "one large family." This, while hardly the reality, is often the ideology of middle-class Protestantism in America. Even though the "family" character of such congregations is rather synthetic, most of it the product of pulpit rhetorics, it is still significant as an ideal that shapes the thinking of many people. Sociologically, this model becomes the perfect alibi for shunning the responsibilities of the Christian in public life. At the same time, since the model is based on wishful thinking, trying to preserve an archaic rural pattern of social relationships that is out of place in the modern situation, this model is best suited to make the church a convenient vehicle for an assortment of social illusions and myths. Theologically, this model is based on a confusion of *agape* and *eros*. It confuses the kingdom of God with the powers of this aeon. Speaking sociologically once more, we would say that its similarity to the first model lies in a common opposition to *Gesellschaft*, an attempt to create separate community over against the larger social structures.



In the first case the goal is a community of *agape*, in the second a community of *eros* mistakenly conceived to be specifically Christian.

The third model would be Christian community conceived as a sort of club, the voluntary association (what Weber called *Verein*) of religious consumers with a special kind of need in this area. The relations between the members of such an association need not be any more profound than those between members of other types of consumer cooperatives through which non-material goods are distributed in retail establishments—for example, amateur theatrical groups. Sociologically, such associations tend to be *Gemeinschaft* in their ideology, but *Gesellschaft* in their social reality. This is typical of Protestant churches holding the second model here enumerated as their ideal. Theological comment is hardly necessary here.

The fourth model, closely related to the third, is the Christian community as an organization (Weber: *Betrieb*) designed to carry out certain social policies, or to administer an ecclesiastical apparatus of religious mediation (what Ernst Troeltsch called *Gnadenanstalt*). Most commonly even the aspiration to *Gemeinschaft* is absent here. Whether membership in such an organization is voluntary in theory or in practice, or in both, or in neither, the social forms are those of *Gesellschaft*. This model would be illustrated by the successful metropolitan congregation in America as well as by the large urban parish in a European *Landeskirche*. Sociologically, we have here the ideal type of the church as against the sect. Again, the theological comments on such a model are obvious. Both in the third and fourth model the social forms within the church tend to be direct reflections of the larger social structure within which the church exists.

It would be very convenient if we could now describe a fifth model, which could be presented as the authentic article "Christian Community," having such-and-such sociological characteristics, buttressed by such-and-such a theological rationale. If there is an expectation of such a presentation, the expectation must be disappointed. For this disappointment, however, at least a theological rationale can be given. The sociological reasons for our inability to produce such a model are implicit in what has been said so far.

*Agape* cannot be a principle of social structure or a blueprint for social engineering. *Agape* is the miracle of God's action breaking into the world of men. In this aeon, however, this miracle does not magically transform the world and its structures. The world which crucified Jesus Christ, though already overcome in his resurrection, continues to exist until the day of the Lord, when God, in his own time, will ratify the victory before the eyes of men. This theological assertion is anything but a cavalier way of avoiding the impasse reached by our sociological analysis. It is directly relevant to the way in which we interpret the results of this analysis and in which we seek a solution to the problem posed in our title.

Let it be said without any conceit that an answer to the problem is easier for Lutherans than for any other Christian tradition. Seen theologically, the



problem touches upon the heart of the Lutheran understanding of the Christian faith. We would contend that the Lutheran understanding of the sacraments will sharply illuminate the problem we face here. Nor is this an intellectual *salto mortale*. When we speak of Christian community, we speak of the presence of Christ in the church, which is his body. That is, we speak essentially of the same problem as that of understanding his presence in the sacraments. Just as Lutheranism has rejected the idea that the presence of Christ magically transforms the physical elements of the sacraments of the altar, we must reject the idea that his presence magically transforms the elements of social structure. The physical scientist would, of course, analyse the bread and wine on the altar with all the tools at his disposal, yet the presence of Christ would not appear under his microscope. It should not surprise us that such an empirical verification of Christ's presence can no more be turned up by the social scientist. On the other hand Lutheranism has rejected the idea that the presence of Christ is merely symbolic, having reality only in the subjective consciousness of the believer. In the same way, we cannot think of the church simply as the sum total of its social structure. At the same time (and the paradox is blessed in the literal sense of the word), the church is the place in which the risen Lord is present, *really* present, not just present because we believe.

If *agape*, then, is not subject to the manipulations of our sociological experimentation, this does not mean that the structures of the world are abandoned by God's grace. We would say in quite simple Lutheran language that this grace is present "in, with and under" the structures of the world. Here lies the clue to our problem.

Still moving within a specifically Lutheran universe of discourse, we would arrive at the same point by starting with the doctrine of justification (which, of course, underlies the Lutheran conception of the sacraments). It is the sinner that God saves. Our understanding of the *iustificatio impii* frees us from the agonizing necessity of constructing perfectionistic houses on the basis of the quicksands of history. It is this freedom which allows the Lutheran confessions to relegate church order to the category of *adiaphora*. It is the same freedom that allows the Christian conscience to face the fact that, until the end of this aeon, the sinner and the saint together make up the Christian congregation, not only sitting side by side, but existing within the same man, *simul iustus et peccator*. Just as these insights are a powerful liberation for the conscience struggling with the question of salvation, they can liberate us with equal power from the depression that almost inevitably follows honest sociological analysis. For when these insights are truly grasped, we are freed from the compulsion to construct the perfect model within which we can seek refuge from the ravages of time.

Such liberation changes drastically the perspective on our problem. We no longer ask what an "authentic" Christian community is, or how we can bring it about. At the same time, questions of church order become the subject matter



of rational thought moving within a world of relativities. Another way of putting this would be in Dietrich Bonhoeffer's words, that our problem is now revealed not as an ultimate but a penultimate one. We can now ask, on this "lower level," what rational steps we can take to facilitate the mission of the church in modern society.

On this level (in a lower key, as it were) sociological insights and techniques have their important place. We are now enabled to see and accept certain social forms as inevitable in carrying out the mission of the church in modern society. Thus we can come to terms with the fact that the church will take on the social form of bureaucratic organization, yet at the same time we can avoid identifying the church with that organization (as is done in our fourth model). Thus we can rationally evaluate the use of small groups in the work of the church, but without conceiving of them as the remnant of Israel (as is done in our first model). Thus we can consider the important suggestion coming out of the evangelical academies and the European laymen's movements, that Christian groups should be vocationally structured, but without making of this either a gimmick or an ideology. We may also find, then, that an empirically visible community, in the sociological sense, is possible and desirable within the organizational complexity of our church life, but we shall not identify such a community with the choir of the angels. These and similar questions could form the content of another article. It may be enough for our present purpose to have gained a perspective on the problem which allows the sociologist to speak neither as *advocatus diaboli* nor as *deus ex machina*. It is not too much to hope that such a possibility exists in the church of the Augsburg Confession.



# Ideological Features of Modern Protestant Social Work in Germany \*

JOACHIM MATTHES

SINCE 1945 movements aiming at a reorganization of the church's position in society have been started. To some extent they follow the traditions of the Protestant social movement; to some extent they consciously differ from these traditions and seek new ways of working. In all of these activities the question of the integration of the "world of labor" into the religious life stands in the foreground, an integration which obviously cannot be accomplished today by means of the traditional class organizations (Protestant Workers' Movement, Protestant Youth in Industry) in view of the increasing obliteration of social and class distinctions. These activities are frequently lumped together under the concept "social work," which in its narrower sense, must be differentiated from the general realm of diaconal work, which is social work in its wider sense.

The development of this new Protestant social work in Germany has not as yet been descriptively or analytically investigated. There are, it is true, a whole series of monographs which, however, have not as yet been consolidated into a study of the structure as a whole.<sup>1</sup> Such an undertaking immediately runs into considerable difficulties, which lie in the nature of the subject itself. The outward manifestations of modern Protestant social work are varied and strongly regional in character. Only very meagre archive materials are available for a chronological survey of their development. An empirical inquiry into the actual status of development in Protestant social work could doubtless produce some material on the persons involved and the forms of social work, but there still would be difficulties when the question of the criteria for judging the effectiveness of this branch of the church's work is broached. The sociological studies on the congregation which have been conducted in Germany to date could certainly produce some relevant material in this respect.<sup>2</sup>

\* \* \*

\* The following essay is the substance of an address which was presented at the annual study conference for Protestant sociologists and theologians at the Evangelical Academy in Loccum, Germany, in March, 1960. The author plans to discuss the principal theoretical aspects of this essay in a special volume to be included in a series of studies on the sociology of religion, commissioned by the professional organization for sociology of religion of the German Sociological Society, and currently in preparation for publication.

<sup>1</sup> The article by Gerhard Heilfurth, "Kirche und Arbeiterschaft", in the *Kirchliche Jahrbuch*, 1953, and the last section of Eckart Schleth's book *Der profane Weltchrist*, Munich, 1957, provide a comprehensive survey up till the year 1953. Scattered individual studies can be found among other places in the journal *Die Mitarbeit*, *Evangelische Monatshefte für Gesellschaftspolitik*, Friedewald über Betzdorf/Sieg, *Evangelische Sozialakademie*.

<sup>2</sup> The following are exhaustive discussions of the problem of establishing criteria for sociological studies of the congregation: Trutz Rendtorff, *Die soziale Struktur der Gemeinde*, Hamburg, 1958; Reinhard Köster, *Die Kirchentreuen*, Stuttgart, 1959; Justus Freytag, *Die Kirchengemeinde in soziologischer Sicht*, Hamburg, 1959. An anthology edited by H. Schelsky, Fr. Greiner and D. Goldschmidt, *Soziologie der Gemeinde* has just come out.



The following presentation is not based on empirical material, but mainly on documentation and "subjective" observation. It is an attempt to work out certain basic questions which have arisen in the course of the internal discussions in the field of social work.<sup>3</sup> This approach offers certain essential points of departure for future empirical investigations, points which can no longer be ignored by any attempt to overcome the critical aspects of modern Protestant social work. We are primarily concerned here with these critical aspects and not with a comprehensive evaluation of modern Protestant social work. The evidence that there are ideological elements does not mean to imply that contemporary Protestant social work is fundamentally ideological in nature. However, the fact must be taken into consideration that just such ideological features have a strong effect even on forms of social work which cannot be described as primarily ideological. The approach underlying the following presentation is a critique of ideology which, despite every attempt at objectivity, cannot refrain from a modest amount of polemics. By applying this approach to an area of the church's work, a contribution could possibly be made to the discussion of the relationship between sociology and theology—a discussion which, to be sure, is constantly though inadequately being carried on within the realm of social work at present.

For the sake of clarity, it must be said, by way of introduction, that this approach cannot be restricted today as the mere delineation of ideological components (like liberalism, socialism, conservatism, and also pietism, etc.). According to the present stage of research into prejudice and image-building, and after due consideration of the epistemological-sociological studies of William L. Thomas and Robert K. Merton, the ideological problem can rightly be posited as the basic problem of all social orientation.<sup>4</sup> Gustave Thibon has formulated this problem in a simple statement, that men in modern society are under pressure "to develop attitudes and feelings towards realities which infinitely exceed their intellectual and emotional capacities."<sup>5</sup> This contrast between the complex of determinative influences upon the individual, on the one hand, and the comparatively narrow basis of social observation and experience that a person has, on the other, constitutes the basic problem of social orientation under consideration. Attention must also be called (along with Gohlen) to the lack of protection an individual has in this situation, due to the modern breakdown of institutions. It remains to be shown to what extent ideological phenomena can be reduced to problems of orientation, whereby finally the specific divergence in orientation in modern Protestant social work raises ques-

<sup>3</sup> Basic questions in German academy work and social work are discussed above all in the 1958/59 issues of *Die Mitarbeit*. (2/58, 6/58, 7/58, 8/58, 9/58, 5/59, 12/59). For a comparison see *Die Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik* (6/59).

<sup>4</sup> For research on prejudice in Germany see P. Heintz, *Soziale Vorurteile*, Köln, 1957. For research on image-building see H. Moore and G. Kleinig, *Das Bild der sozialen Wirklichkeit*, *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 3/59. References are also given here to relevant American literature.

<sup>5</sup> Gustave Thibon, *Retour au Réel*, quoted by Popitz among others, *Das Gesellschaftsbild des Arbeiters*, Tübingen, 1957. Particular attention is called, in this connection, to the Introduction to this book. See also Gehlen, *Sozialpsychologische Probleme der industriellen Gesellschaft*, Tübingen, 1949.



tions as to its theological presuppositions. In doing this, we are confronted by four ideological complexes which leave their mark upon the view of society, the types of activities and the statements of policy to be found in Protestant social work. Before we turn to these four groups of ideologies, we must briefly outline the three phases of development in modern Protestant social work.

## II

The dynamic first (underlined) phase comprises the period from 1945 to 1950. It is characterized by various experiments which had not yet been institutionalized but which mainly resulted from personal initiative. Most of the Evangelical Academies, which have attempted to initiate new conversations between the church and the world, were founded during this period, although under conditions which are still institutionally inadequate. The practice of spending a number of days together for the purpose of studying a certain topic from the Protestant perspective (the "conference"), was discovered and developed as a new technique in the life of the church. It was time organized along vocational lines, and used in this way outside of the Academies as well. The new forms of men's work, the *Kirchentag*, and also the various "social offices" of the territorial churches developed this conference technique into a new point of confrontation between modern man and the church by means of the discussion of questions of daily life as well as the basic problems of our time. This led to a considerable reactivation of "laymen," even to the point of creating new lay professions such as that of diocesan director of men's work and that of secretary of social work.

The chronology of this first phase can hardly be reconstructed in its entirety today, since numerous regional and personal episodes have never been recorded in documents. The material available, however, does show that in the years 1950-1951 there was a marked tendency towards conferences beyond the occasional men's meetings sponsored by the church. This initiates a *second* phase which is characterized by the establishment of permanent structures. By the "establishment of structures" two things were intended. First of all, the many existing individual activities were to be organizationally combined. They were to be incorporated into a specific ecclesiastical structure, which would bridge the gap between the conferences and the local congregations, for obviously those people who are challenged at a conference do not necessarily find their way into the activities of the local parish. At the same time, a general organizational structure corresponding to these new approaches to Protestant social work was to be built, which would not only combine these numerous individual activities into one body organizationally, but which would also synchronize the setting of goals and the assignment of tasks within a general pattern. Thus the *Evangelische Aktionsgemeinschaft für Arbeiterfragen* (Evangelical Work-



ing Committee for Workers' Problems) was founded in 1951,<sup>6</sup> and at about the same time, within the realm of its slowly developing organizational framework, the pattern of the Protestant "factory groups" (*Betriebskern*)<sup>7</sup> evolved.

In retrospect it can be said that with this double approach to organizational structure in the development of modern Protestant social work, the basic question concerning the position of the folk church within modern society emerges as a practical and concrete problem. The demand for the setting up of new structures in the field of ecclesiastical organization such as, for example, new congregational forms (factory congregations), obviously grew out of a weakness in the existing structure of the folk church, about which, to be sure, a great deal of theoretical discussion had already taken place, but which had become particularly manifest in the course of conference work. Five years later the same basic question arose again when the concept of the factory core group was dropped in practice without thorough theoretical study. It is not wrong to maintain that this basic question had been neglected in both instances—in 1950 through a too rapid structuralization and in 1955 through a lack of study of the apparently inadequate conception of the "factory congregation" on the one hand, but above all, through the fact that there was an actual departure from this conception, whereas the parallel ecclesiastical organizational structure was retained unchanged.

The silent abandonment of the factory core concept in 1955 can be taken as the beginning of the third phase in modern Protestant social work, which is, in contrast to the unity of the second phase, characterized by numerous organizational and theoretical conflicts, which are still being carried on both orally and in social work literature. The present situation of modern Protestant social work can be outlined in four points:

1) The abandonment of the idea of the factory core without its having been fully discussed has led to a general loss of direction. There are still places here and there where the goal of social work is seen as the formation of "factory congregations." In most cases, however, the basic difficulties involved in this kind of procedure are recognized, and the activities have shifted to the conduct-

<sup>6</sup> Section 1, §1 of the minutes of the annual session of the *Evangelische Aktionsgemeinschaft für Arbeiterfragen* of 1954 states: "The *Evangelische Aktionsgemeinschaft für Arbeiterfragen* seeks to unite the various Protestant actions and organizations which gather and serve the workers in order to strengthen their missionary witness and to foster their common efforts in industry and their responsible cooperation in the area of social-political action. This union is particularly intended to coordinate the activities of the various religious groups in this area and to prepare a united front on individual contemporary issues."

In May, 1952, a study conference was held in Friedewald which stated: "It is our goal . . . that a Protestant workers' movement develop from the *Aktionsgemeinschaft für Arbeiterfragen*."

Reference must once more be made here to the introductory remarks which limit the object of this investigation.

<sup>7</sup> The minutes of the study conference in Friedewald in May, 1952, have this to say about the industrial core:

"The industrial core is independent of management, trade unions, and political groups in industry. It dare not allow itself to be misused by any group, but it has the task of permeating industry and other groups with the spirit of reconciliation . . . The proclamation of the gospel must go hand in hand with social-political action . . . In the narrower circle of the industrial core, the effort should be made to develop new Christian forms (the modification/reorganization of prayer); Holy Communion, etc. is possible in the realm of the industrial core. . . (The formation of industrial cores is effectively achieved) through training courses, night schools and week-end retreats."

In the fall of 1958, Jörg Simpfendorfer said in a speech at the evangelical academy at Bad Boll:

"The industrial core has been interpreted by industry as a political block. This has undoubtedly created a false impression of what is involved in its daily service industry. Its purpose is not to form industrial cores but to sponsor group activities. This is a secular expression for that which we call diaconal service groups in industry."



ing of conferences, which in the second phase were clearly associated with the establishment of such factory congregations, but which have now achieved an importance all their own. This kind of conference, which has its *raison d'être* in itself, is, however, by its very nature an educational technique which places particular demands upon its participants. Most of the social work secretaries who were employed for the purpose of developing factory congregations now face entirely new tasks which they cannot always adequately master.

2) The *Evangelische Aktionsgemeinschaft für Arbeiterfragen*, which was intended as the central organization for the social work of the territorial churches, has found itself in a latent structural conflict since 1955. It was founded at the beginning of the second phase as the church's coordinating agency for all activities aimed at challenging men working in industry. The *en masse* approach was apparent to a certain degree in the establishment of factory congregations. Since the shift away from these factory congregations, this approach has to an ever increasing extent been lost. Thus it is that the national president of the *Aktionsgemeinschaft*, Eberhard Müller, says that "the *Aktionsgemeinschaft für Arbeiterfragen* does not intend to organize the workers into an organization in order to provide centrally controlled shock troops for the realization of ecclesiastical aims."<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the executive director of the *Aktionsgemeinschaft*, Henry Lillich, has said: "Since its establishment, the goal of the *Aktionsgemeinschaft* is precisely that of building up a Protestant labor movement on a broad basis.... It would be untrue to deny to the forces at work in the *Aktionsgemeinschaft* the character of a labor movement."<sup>9</sup>

3) The lack of a carefully thought out plan and the retention of the organizational form of the second phase have automatically led to the formulation of very diverse theories. The most distinct of these is the one developed at Bad Boll, which will be described in greater detail later on. While the objectives of the second phase are maintained, the establishment of permanent factory congregations is replaced in this conception by the principle of the "reconstruction" of the community of the factory by means of conferences sponsored by the church.<sup>10</sup> The conference, which brings together a representative cross-section of those working in a given industry, developed from this principle as a practical method. Within Württemberg, 40 of these conferences have already been held in collaboration with the *Aktionsgemeinschaft* and the Evangelical Academy in Bad Boll. Moreover, in these basic discussions of Protestant social work, the concept of "follow-up work" plays an increasingly important part. Here an attempt is made to "follow up" those participants who have been confronted at any given conference. Upon closer examination we see the same questions

<sup>8</sup> Eberhard Müller, "Mut zum Dilemma," *Die Mitarbeit*, (5/59), p. 203.

<sup>9</sup> Henry Lillich, "Vorurteile trüben den Blick," *Junge Stimme—Stimme der Arbeit*, February 1960. The founding of a worker's solidarity, with all of the characteristics of a club including membership fees, has recently been under consideration.

<sup>10</sup> Eberhard Müller, *Die Erneuerung der Kirche — Gedanken im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, Hamburg, 1959, p. 11 ff.



being raised which in 1950 led to the organizational phase. It is evident that the experiences which have been amassed since then have not yet been thoroughly studied, otherwise the question of follow-up would be much more than a mere methodological question today.

4) Finally, in describing the present situation of Protestant social work one dare not forget that about the same time as the movement away from the idea of a factory core groups occurred, a continually growing stream of public funds began flowing into this conference work.<sup>11</sup> Because of this even those conferences which did not have as their objective the establishment of the factory congregation but had their own *raison d'être*, entered into a phase of expansion before their new importance, content-wise or as a method, could be fully assessed. This is the most important reason that superficialities in an increasing number can be observed in the organizational patterns of Protestant social work, which do not help to assist in enhancing the reputation of this social work in the eyes of church members or the general public.

The essential sources of conflict which contemporary Protestant social work must face and which arise out of its internal and external development to date are summarized in these four points. Conflicts of this type always provide fertile ground for the growth of distinctive ideologies. We must bear this in mind as we turn to the lack of orientation in Protestant social work as the basis of the ideological features which it betrays.

### III

The starting point for all theoretical considerations and practical activities of Protestant social work appears to be the awareness of the glaring divergence between church and society in general and between the church and industrial society in particular. We are not at this point raising the question of the theological justification for this divergence, but how in the first place this specific divergence in orientation manifests itself in Protestant social work. We shall formulate this question by inquiring about the view of society and industry which is evident in Protestant social work. Naturally, we will have to forego a detailed description here.

At the outset, two statements must be made. First, it must be borne in mind that one frequently encounters an historical interpretation of modern industrial society which has as its background the picture of a society which was formerly intact and which was characterized by the fact that church and society coincide, something which is so lacking today. This historically oriented interpretation governed the first and second phases which have already been described and is

<sup>11</sup> Mention must first of all be made of the federal subsidies to conferences dealing with topics of a political-educational nature which have been granted to an ever greater extent since 1953 either directly by the individual ministries or through the so-called *Bundes- und Landeszentralen für Heimatdienst*. Added to this are the resources of the *Bundesjugendplan* (National Youth Plan), which, from 1954-1959, rose from 300,000 DM to 5 million DM annually in the area of political education alone.



conspicuously free from structural analysis. Secondly, it must be borne in mind that the attempt is more and more frequently being made to analyze the structure of the contemporary social situation, although, to be sure, through the use of concepts which derive from socio-historical analysis. This results in the fact that really genuine analyses of structure never occur since the socio-historical categories used, for example, frequently contain immanent evaluations which are inadequate to comprehend structures now existing. It needs only to be mentioned that in nearly all of the available documents on Protestant social work in industry no reference whatever is made to the numerous results of research in industrial sociology.

Let us now consider each of these facts in turn. Certainly historical sketches belong to those unalterable stereotypes which today exist in the whole range of social education as well as in the numerous apologies for social activities. It is hardly possible to establish a group interested in social questions today without reference to the social and historical revolutions of the last century. The preoccupation of social work with historical analysis is thus not peculiar to the church. Thought-provoking, however, is the observation that the socio-historical view is not carefully enough considered, especially in church circles, despite the fact that the estrangement of the church from society is regarded as the decisive problem for the church. Perhaps one could turn it around and say that this problem has become decisive for the church because she—at least in the realm of her social work—pays too little attention to social history. Careless reflections on social history contain two hidden dangers: the fascination with a supposed historical situation which does not point up the deficiency in the present one, and, in the same connection, the illusion that history is at man's disposal, which gives rise to snap judgments about the possibilities and necessities of practical social action.

The historically construed view of society, which does not contain the divergencies of the present gives rise to the demand that everything should be changed in order really to be right. These two dangers resulting from a superficial socio-historical thought pattern can be documented in the theoretical and practical statements of contemporary Protestant social work. In the snap solutions to what are regarded as the basic divergence in orientation which they offer they manifest an essential ideological feature in this area of church work. In the theory and practice of Protestant social work, the analysis of the social history of the parish since the Middle Ages results in the idea, for instance, that it is possible to bring the social realm on the one side and the social structure of the church on the other can once again to coincide with one another, with "the Christian realm" being "extended to all areas of life, including industry."<sup>12</sup> With this idea, which derives from an alleged socio-historical analysis, in which, in fact, the "historicalness" of the subject does not even appear, nothing more is really

<sup>12</sup> Quoted from the minutes of the Study Conference at Friedewald, May, 1952.



achieved than to carry the parish principle over into another realm, without the change in values which takes place becoming apparent, something which makes this carry over impossible.<sup>13</sup> In other words, this preoccupation with the precarious business of deriving conclusions from socio-historical analysis ignores far too easily the existing divergencies in orientation and results in a way of thinking that adopts socio-historical terms which are simply accepted or presupposed, without further reflection, and that sees the problem as merely filling them with contemporary and relevant meaning. The concept of the factory congregation is not the only symptom of this. In it the parish principle is merely extended to the social complex of the factory, whereby the structural problems of the factory go unnoticed, only to have them emerge again in the actual establishment of factory congregations as unconquerable obstacles which had not been taken into account before. Other examples of such socio-historical diversion of the problem are also noticeable in profusion, such as the programmatic assertion that "the industrial factory has become the model of modern society"<sup>14</sup> or that "industry has become the center of integration for present-day society."<sup>15</sup> An unreflected fascination with a one-sided and superficial socio-historical view, which is the victim of a "picture-book perspective" of history, finds its expression in statements of this kind, which are still presented today in both the theory and practice of social work. A short time ago, Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg rightly warned: "If in earlier times the church, according to the custom of the day, stopped this side of the factory wall, we today should not elevate the factory to the position of being the prism in which the total life of modern man in all of its aspects is reflected."<sup>16</sup> This warning cannot be too plainly stated. It touches upon one of the most dangerous nodal points in the growth of ideology in modern Protestant social work. For this fascination with the socio-historical phenomenon of the factory as an alleged force for building communities, leads not only to the misdirection of missionary activity, but at the same time, it covers up the possibilities for genuine Christian service within the factory. The importance of the first statement is made clear by the thesis that missionary activity should infiltrate a factory like the cell-formation of the Communist party.<sup>17</sup> The significance of the second statement can be illustrated by the fact that this fascination with industry and the factory as new and important social structures, without an adequate analysis of them, must lead to an absolutely false orientation with respect to the church's ministry within a factory, for the idea that the industrial

<sup>13</sup> On this question see Trutz Rendtorff, *oc. cit.*, and in his essay "Gesellschaftsbildende Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der Kirchengemeinde," in *Evangelische Theologie* 11/59, p. 509.

<sup>14</sup> Quote from an essay by Gerhard Schlosser on the industrial core in *Arbeiterbrief* (edited by Arbeiterwerk), Nov. 1955.

<sup>15</sup> Hans Storck, "Quo Vadis Ecclesia" in *Die Mitarbeit*, 12/59.

<sup>16</sup> H. J. Teuteberg, "Kirche und Betriebsverfassung," in *Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik*, 12/59.

<sup>17</sup> A detailed discussion by Eberhard Müller, *Die Welt ist anders geworden*, Hamburg, 1954, p. 24 (with express reference to the differences among the leadership of the KPDSU). The question of the communist principle of the formation of industrial cells would warrant a more basic study were it to be included here. For instance, it would have to be taken into consideration that the communist industrial cell consciously seeks to cause unrest and continually obstruct peace outside of industry, which gives them an alibi for their conduct within industry as long as no revolution takes place.



work cycle destroys the unity of man as a person and ends up combining personalistic-theological approach, on the one hand, with the psychological policies of a personnel manager who wants to see the workers content, on the other, thus diverting attention from the structural conflict within a factory, which is so significant for the church's ministry. It can only be hinted at here that this is the deeper reason for the fact that Protestant social work oscillates between the various forces at work in a factory. The non-committal declarations on the necessity for "humaneness" and the "concern for one's fellow man" is no adequate basis for social ethics; in being non-committal, it surrenders any chance of presenting a theological justification for a possible social and political action in a society where the social force finds itself in a progressive sharing process. Moreover, the wide-spread, although banal, opinion that the church discovered its concern for the worker somewhat late in the game must be taken into consideration. It is certainly true that because of this relatively belated discovery a very undifferentiated picture of the working class (according to which the worker must be helped, even though he has long since helped himself) prevails in Protestant social work.

But another danger of ideology within the church itself must be mentioned in this connection. Recently the attitude is more and more frequently being expressed that the most important task of the church consists in the "thorough study of the latest socio-historical data."<sup>18</sup> Citing the fact that medieval conditions were reflected in the terminology of the Reformation, the demand is made for the development of timely "prayer formulas" even to the extent of holding industrial "harvest home" services with the already much ridiculed "crankshaft on the altar." Now certainly no one will have any complaint to raise against experiments tending in this direction; in fact it must be admitted that the liturgical language currently in use unduly hinders modern man's understanding of the gospel message.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, extensive evidence will not be necessary to show that the real problem of "alienation from the church" is overplayed by methodological experiments of this kind. Furthermore, the inadequacy of the one-sided socio-historical procedure, which too quickly derives the forms of today from the forms of yesterday, thus covering up precisely that which it seeks to overcome, namely, the historicalness of the acknowledged divergence in orientation between church and society which prevails today, is shown here. What in retrospect is interpreted historically is surreptitiously applied to turning present and future into things at man's disposal. The false orientations which we have described arise out of the hidden cleft between the

<sup>18</sup> Schelsky uses this formulation in a very noteworthy essay, "Ist die Dauerreflexion institutionalisierbar?" in the *Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik* 4/57, although in a much more profound sense. At the present time it is frequently being interpreted verbatim, particularly by Hans Storck who is especially occupied with the question of contemporary prayer formulas (see his books: *Die Zeit drängt*, Berlin, 1957, and *Kirche im Neuland der Industrie*, Berlin, 1959, as well as his essay "Quo Vadis Ecclesia?" in *Die Mitarbeit*, 12/59). Horst Symanowski conducts practical investigations of this kind in his seminars in connection with the Gosner-Mission, Mainz-Kastel. Reports on them can be found scattered in the various issues of *Die Mitarbeit*. Compare also: H. Storck, "Verfall und Neuwerdung der Kirchengemeinde," *Die Mitarbeit* 1/59 and H. Symanowski, "Seelsorge im Betrieb, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen," *Die Mitarbeit* 4/59.

<sup>19</sup> On this question refer to the essay by Klaus von Bismarck, "Wir sprechen aneinander vorbei," *Die Mitarbeit* 3/58.



actual historical development and the forms assumed to be valid for society for the present and the future. They are ideological because the distinction between practical experience, on the one hand, and value judgments, on the other, is no longer carefully maintained and thus becomes blurred. The recognition of the problem is obscured, which leads to misguided actions which clash with reality.

#### IV

At this point we come upon a second complex of ideological phenomena in the realm of Protestant social work. Up till now we have concentrated upon the vagueness of the view of society with which Protestant social work operates, in so far as it is evidenced by the one-sided socio-historical discussion of the divergence in orientation between church and society. Even though this vagueness in practice conflicts with social reality, there is still the possibility of a subsequent correction. The socio-historical way of thinking is, in general, open to new insights and evidence. The ideological process is also not completely irreversible. It is much more dangerous, however, when the results of a socio-historical way of thinking are passed off as a structural analysis of the present.

This danger has come to fore since the movement away from the concept of a factory core group. Increasingly, the tendency in Protestant social work is to accept the contemporary structure of society as a product of socio-historical development, however, only as a structure. The categories which developed from the socio-historical way of thinking are applied to society as instruments for structural analysis. Society in its present form is understood as a system which can be defined with the help of the proper socio-historical categories.

In this way elementary misunderstandings creep in, which in turn surrender the field to certain types of ideologies. The outstanding example of this is the application of the theory of primary and secondary structures in modern society to the church's understanding of herself.<sup>20</sup> "In industry," says Jörg Simpfendörfer, "we are dealing with a typical system in our double-structured modern society, that is, with a functional realm. The church organized as a parish, which is oriented to the primary structures of society, cannot perform its service to and in this double-structured industrial system. The double-structure of modern society requires a direct ministry."<sup>21</sup> With this conception, which is at the present time being advocated, particularly at Bad Boll, the factory core group concept is dropped, but has certainly not been thought through. Work in and with the factory continues but from a standpoint which now claims to be oriented around a structural analysis of the total society. Factory core work

<sup>20</sup> Interpretations of the theory of primary and secondary structures developed by Hans Freyer ("Theorie des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters") can be found above all in Eberhard Müller, *oc. cit.* Also compare H. D. Wendland, *Die Kirche in der modernen Gesellschaft*, Hamburg, 1956, pp. 127 ff. and 205 ff.; *Botschaft an die soziale Welt*, Hamburg, 1959, pp. 166 ff., and Christine Bourbeck in *Diakonie zwischen Kirche und Welt*, edited by Wendland-Bourbeck, Hamburg, 1959. Similarly Storck, *oc. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> Quoted from a basic statement made by Jörg Simpfendörfer at an ecumenical conference on church work in industry at Bad Boll, 1958.



thereby forfeits a good bit of its initial (and fallacious) emphasis on activity; the factory core group now becomes the factory study group. At the same time the way is cleared from a form of social work directed toward the factory to a social work which is "work" in modern society as a whole, since industry is only one of the modern secondary structures. Consistent with this, a work program was developed last year (1959) which envisaged the setting up of various working committees (ecclesiastical secondary structures), corresponding to the various secular secondary structures, which should cover, on an ecclesiastical basis, working committees on the nature of the hospital, government, school, department stores, etc.

What happens, according to this conception? First of all, it must be repeated that the socio-historical categories have surreptitiously been transformed into structural categories. Thereby the very debatable evaluations of the socio-historical view inherent in these categories also work their way into the structural analysis, and distort the resultant picture of society which they help to create. Furthermore, the alleged structural concepts which arise in this way are, together with their inherent values, substantiated in a rather peculiar way. On the one hand, the secondary structures are viewed as potentially destructive, in which the unity of the individual is sacrificed; on the other hand they are regarded as legitimate fields for the missionary and diaconal service of the church, precisely for this reason. In both cases an unmistakable conceptual realism is expressed in that simple analytical categories are transformed into concrete essentials. The question must be raised here whether in a particular manner the view of society as a "developing organism" is not being reintroduced, the view which for a time had played a certain role in German sociology (O. Spann and A. Schäffle). At this point the ideological process reaches a dangerous stage. For an idea of society developed along these lines contains strong systematic features, and systematic thought is to a great extent more closed to new insights and evidence than is the socio-historical way of thinking. While the one-sided emphasis upon socio-historical thought involves the danger of ideological ambiguity, in this case the transformation of the socio-historical way of thinking into a structural system runs the risk of drawing the lines too sharply, with the result that, for the sake of clarity, reality is subsumed under certain general categories rather than being interpreted as it really is. In connection with the tendency toward conceptual realism described above, a peculiar "world view" ensues which is no more adequate than is the socio-historical "picture book perspective," but which evidences, to be sure, a very austere but in principle strongly systematized structure.<sup>22</sup> The problem would be comparatively simple if all that were necessary in a critique of such a social "world view" would be to prove that in this view exact conceptual formulations are applied to contents which they are not

---

<sup>22</sup> The concept of the "sozialen Bildwelt" (social world view) is taken over here by Popitz who very impressively defines it in the introduction to *Das Gesellschaftsbild des Arbeiters*, Tübingen, 1957.



capable of defining. But the proof that the concept of secondary structures has no significance for the contemporary folk church situation, to say nothing of providing a program for its resolution, is insufficient. In the last analysis we are dealing here not with a logical, but with an ideological phenomenon. With its tendencies toward conceptual realism, the social "world view" which we have described takes on almost deceptive features and develops a kind of "out-caste consciousness," which can no longer be genuinely met by the orientational difference which it claims to take into consideration. The theoretical work connected with the study of social structures is no longer undertaken. Instead the concepts applied acquire a unique life of their own, which asserts itself against every experience of reality and change, and which evades as far as possible any empirical check. A view of society which has acquired such an independent existence furnishes a good background for social ethical appeals which call for personal self-expression against the deceptive forces and powers of our time, against the super-structures and "apparatuses."

We are sufficiently familiar with appeals of this kind, and to be sure, not only on the part of the church. That the church includes these in its social work is just as regrettable as it is characteristic of the wide range of theological justification which the church exercises in defence of the most diverse positions on social questions.

But these things have another side to them. When the painstaking process of the study of social reality gives way to a social world view, it immediately frees the way to action and opens up broad possibilities for accommodation. "A social world view need hinder neither (practical) participation in (social) change nor adaptation to concrete situations. Uncontrolled and phantastic conceptions of imaginary social forces functioning in the realm beyond reality are thoroughly consistent with a very concrete self-assuredness in dealing with the problems of daily life."<sup>23</sup> With this pregnant formulation, which needs no commentary, an ideological fact is expressed which, by combining a social world view with the tactics of social accommodation, has already reached a high degree of irreversibility. The most obvious symptom of this is its conception of criticism, which, as we have found, it tries to evade, when criticism is taken to be a basic empirical check. And in actual fact, the current opinion in wide sections of Protestant social work today is that a so-called "constructive critique" can only be acknowledged when it takes the form of better practical experiments (on fundamentally the same level).<sup>24</sup>

We have now come upon a third complex of ideological phenomena, which requires the divorce of the social world view from the tactics of accommodation as a preliminary phase. At this point the ideological problem which we have been tracing shifts from the realm of reflective orientation to the sphere of action.

<sup>23</sup> Popitz, *oc. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> See also section VI of this essay. Precise descriptions of the content can be found above all in E. Müller, *Die Mitarbeit*, 5/59, p. 207 and in Friedrich Karrenberg in *Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik*, 6/59, pp. 379-380 and in his book, *Gestalt und Kritik des Westens*, Stuttgart, 1959, especially pp. 94-95 and 154-156.



## V

When the process of reflection upon social realities is diverted into a hardened social view, social work becomes possible, whereas continual reflection doubtlessly has a deterrent effect upon action.<sup>25</sup>

This fact pinpoints the place at which an ideological process shifts from the level of orientation to the level of the justification of social work. Here the philosophical problem of the relationship between theory and practice arises, which is not a basic matter for debate in the contemporary stage of Protestant social work. Instead, contemporary Protestant social work is characterized much more by the primacy of activity. There are basically three reasons for this which lie outside the structure of social work itself. The first lies in the character of its representatives themselves. This personal element can hardly be left out of consideration because it gives a definite character to the style in which social work is carried out, which leaves little room for people who are more inclined toward reflection. This is certainly no phenomenon which is confined to religious circles. Therefore we need merely mention it here. It is not accidental that numerous quasi-military concepts occur within the vocabulary of social work. And furthermore it is also no mere coincidence that, almost without exception, dynamic personalities are to be met at the "headquarters" and on the "front" of social work, people for whom the "pioneer character" of this work has a particular appeal, although its pioneer element has in the meantime almost begun to harden and to a large extent is nothing more than a verbal claim. Secondly, this personal element is frequently combined with an activist understanding of mission, which bears strong traces of pietism and has at its disposal relatively clear and simple ideas of the nature of Christian conduct which gladly evade closer inspection. Thirdly, attention must again be drawn to the expanding forces made available by public support which promote the rhythm of activity in social work.

This primacy of action in Protestant social work which is based upon these three external reasons furthers the process of ideological formulation as it has been described in the section above. Some of the concepts arising from theoretical analysis have become an arsenal of defense for the justification of very diverse approaches, most of which arise from completely different motives. Sociological concepts become principles for evangelism. This comment is intended not to depreciate such activity but to reveal it for what it is. The question now arises as to which social pressures provide an adequate explanation for social work as we know it today. This question goes beyond the mere description of ideological phenomena and deserves special investigation. The danger is not that evangelistic projects make use of the findings of sociological research. The danger is that this approach strives to use sociology in order to justify its

<sup>25</sup> Compare here Schelsky, *oc. cit.*, and his new essay "Religionssoziologie und Theologie" in the *Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik* 3/59. Also Popitz *oc. cit.*



own programs. It is not a logical, but rather an ideological process when the principle behind the current practice of the "cross-section conference" is subsequently justified on the ground that in it a "reconstruction" of an industrial secondary structure takes place, which, as it were, means to imply that the church is master of the present. The very practice proves that a conference cannot reconstruct a given reality; at best it can merely reflect upon this reality in a new form.

Again, this is merely one aspect of the subject. The other is that a conceptually justified social action of this kind creates as it were a "double reality," which, with the help of a social world view, can easily be interpreted as a verification of analysis.

We said that no action can reconstruct another one, but that at the most the effects of one action can have a bearing on the other. These effects, however, are not subject to manipulation by the allegedly reconstructing action. At a conference the problems of industry can be discussed with those who belong to this industry, and common insights can thereby be gained, but the translation of these insights into industrial practice lies outside of the power of the conference. Obviously social work which is primarily oriented around action constantly attempts to do this, however.

The conference itself and the many attempted forms of follow-up work (vocational study groups, etc.) are structurally intended to relieve the participants of the act of translating insights into actual practice. This is a fundamentally erroneous procedure, which in a very unique way contrasts with the appeal continually being issued that the individual manifest a greater sense of personal responsibility. This inner contradiction, which urgently stands in need of theological interpretation, is constantly being covered up by the quasi-sociological compartmentalization which takes place, for which subsequently—not originally—justification is sought. Where the above-mentioned translation of insights into practice does take place, where, in other words, the effects intended do result, they are claimed without due consideration as proof for the correctness of one's own actions, even though they spring from very different roots. The ideological justification of an act begets the "self-fulfilling prophecy".<sup>26</sup> Thus an action which is based on an ideological reality can in fact become reality.<sup>27</sup> Here the standards of measurement which make possible a distinction between a genuine and a "double reality" become intermingled. Naturally there were factory core groups; naturally there are vocational study groups resulting from Protestant social work; naturally actions of Protestant social work have an effect in the social-political and industrial realms. The point here is not at all to deny these effects or to call them phantoms—even though one should ask: What

<sup>26</sup> This concept which was coined by Robert K. Merton is taken over here with little modification in its range of application. For an explanation of it see above all Heintz, *oc. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> This question plays an important role in the scientific sociological studies of Robert K. Merton and William I. Thomas. Short but precise references can be found under both names in the *Internationale Soziologenlexikon*, edited by W. Bernsdorf, Stuttgart, 1959, which also contains detailed bibliographies.



relevance do these effects have for the church as such? From our point of view we must ask: Are these effects really what they are claimed to be? Are they "genuine brotherhoods for the man who works in industry"?<sup>28</sup> Are they "vital new forms for man in industry"?<sup>29</sup> Throughout the whole realm of Protestant social work the complaint about the increasing "tendency toward small groups" is heard again and again. This tendency is familiar to us from local parish work and it is generally evident wherever the attempt is made to develop fellowship through organizations. Obviously the mobility and the segmentation of group formation on the one hand and the origin of a "cell-consciousness" of groups (Wölber) on the other hand are just as much problems for Protestant social work as is, for example, all independent youth work, regardless who sponsors it.<sup>30</sup> If this is so—and observation shows that it is—then it will no longer be possible to accept the obvious results of Protestant social work (in the sense of a realization) as identical to the claims made on its behalf. To make this distinction between claim and reality is extremely difficult, however. For, those who limit themselves to problems of orientation and method and reject, for example, all questions about the practical results of "follow-up" work as a false line of reasoning, cannot hold out in the face of the proven "self-fulfilling prophecy" and when in the face of acknowledged success we raise the question of purpose, we are unexpectedly accused of carping criticism. The illusion of the usefulness of our own actions which is contained in the manifestations of the self-fulfilling prophecy all too easily covers up the self-control which experience can provide; what we have described on the level of orientation as the divorce of the social world view from the tactics of accommodation is transformed in the medium of social action into facts which can hardly be ignored. The social world view becomes a well-stocked arsenal of exchangeable justifications and the way is freed to an unrestricted and always variable accommodation, the appearance of which can be claimed to your liking as a "real success" of the underlying "insights". At this point the ideological process seems now to have become irreversible, for there are no longer any rules governing a return to specific presuppositions. It appears to me that this irreversibility is present in actual fact wherever Protestant social work has committed itself to a pattern of secondary structures, regardless of the variations these may take. This pattern cannot be got at with arguments and experience. The arguments with which it is based are no longer arguments, but pictures; the experiences which are accumulated through the use of this pattern have proven it to be practical. The "prophecy of the pictures" has been fulfilled; thus the practicability of this pattern is in practice inviolable. This pattern of Protestant social work has shown itself to be flexible in theory and practice and therewith durable, which fact in the form of the self-

<sup>28</sup> E. Müller, in *Die Mitarbeit*, 5/59, p. 207.

<sup>29</sup> Subtitle of *Der profane Weltchrist*, Eckart Schleth, Munich, 1957.

<sup>30</sup> A very detailed presentation on this topic can be found in the comprehensive book by Hans Otto Wölber, *Religion ohne Entscheidung. Volkskirche am Beispiel der jungen Generation*, Göttingen, 1957. See especially pp. 125 ff.



fulfilling prophecy is used to counter all questions aimed at its basis. One very urgent question arises: How in the face of this obvious ideological fact is it possible to exercise self-control and self-correction in fundamental questions?

## VI

In order to make the full import of this statement clear, it is necessary to cast a glance at a fourth complex of problems in Protestant social work. To these problems we shall now turn.

If ideological justification and the self-fulfilling prophecy have once occurred, then the process of reducing problems of social work to their underlying orientational divergencies scarcely takes place; instead only the process of induction from a "double reality" to a system is carried out. This consequently means that the system itself suffers from problems of orientation, the more extensively it becomes conceptually and organizationally involved. These new problems of orientation no longer derive their origin from those which brought forth the underlying activity to begin with.

Once an action, in which the social world view is divorced from the tactics of accommodation for the sake of its effectiveness, has been set into motion, it begets new orientational situations which are only remotely related to the starting point and goals of the action.

When we view the new Protestant social work from this perspective, we encounter three groups of problems:

- a) the ideological character of Protestant social ethics;
- b) the obvious tendencies toward multiplication in certain areas of Protestant social work;
- c) the utopian features of Protestant social work.

a) Here we run into a most urgent demand for a fundamental ideological critique of literature on modern "social ethics."<sup>31</sup> This cannot be met in this paper. However two remarks concerning these questions must be inserted here:

1. To be sure, in the last three years the proportion of predominantly programmatic statements in "social ethics" literature has significantly declined in favor of more fundamentally oriented statements. Despite this, however, those ideological phenomena which we described in our critique of the view of society held by "practical" social work are still in evidence, and in some cases very clearly so. The fascination with historical social change is just as frequently encountered as is the pictorialization of structural concepts (as in the acceptance of the clichés of critiques of culture). What appears to be even more regrettable is the occasionally very pronounced tendency to understand social ethics principally as "constructive," and contrastingly, to neglect analytical studies, yes, even to depreciate them. "The correct formulation of the questions is not

<sup>31</sup> See the corresponding claim of H. H. Schrey in the *Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik* 6/57, p. 278.



sufficient," says Friedrich Karrenberg, one must also make concrete suggestions.<sup>32</sup> How one can make good suggestions without having first asked some questions is not mentioned. And the fact that it goes unmentioned seems to result from not having either the ability or the will to take up the "right" analytical questions. The dilemma of contemporary pronouncements on social ethics appears frequently to consist of a unique indirectness of thought into which social conflicts and polarities are tossed: "Life is no harmony. But one dare not let everything follow its own course."<sup>33</sup> When it proceeds from positions of this kind, the business of social ethics shows itself to be "constructive" in the sense of maintaining the status quo. In the literature of social ethics it is not by accident that the debate with sociological theories which treat the social conflict as a constructive social value is evaded (Dahrendorf, Popitz, etc.). The seemingly universal "social ethical" view levels the importance of the various problems and positions, and does away with the problematical character of the problems. This would be all right so long as we were dealing with a mere phenomenon of orientation.

2. But this is not all. When radical questions are understood as something "destructive," and the universality which levels everything as "constructive," then there can only be critique based upon a certain system. "Critique, however, if it merely wants to remain objective, can only be a critique of individual practices."<sup>34</sup> We have already encountered a similar statement by Eberhard Müller. Here social ethics unintentionally becomes the foundation on which the justification of the various social programs is based; the problematical nature of all social programs is no longer even theoretically considered. (That this is the case, makes—as we have seen—for its feeling of infallibility and stability.) In a social ethic which is conducted as a mediating force, the critical remarks of academy and social work as a basic critique are out of place. These two remarks are meant in this connection to emphasize the significant role of ideological objectivation which Protestant social ethics can adopt in regard to organized social work. Under this aspect a "de-ideologizing of social ethics" could be of urgent significance.

b) One of the surest signs of the presence of an ideological process which has almost reached the stage of objectification is the existence of tendencies toward multiplication. The divergencies in orientation which have set the ideological process in motion are apparently canceled out in the realm of action. This cancelation is now so solidified through justifications and self-substantiation that it can reproduce itself. The supposed solution to the problem seems so assured in principle that it can be duplicated, so to speak, whereby peripheral corrections and tactical adaptations are in no way excluded, but actually necessitated.

<sup>32</sup> Compare footnote 24.

<sup>33</sup> Fr. Karrenberg, *Gestalt und Kritik des Westens*, Stuttgart, 1959, p. 158. Similar statements can be found on many other pages.

<sup>34</sup> Fr. Karrenberg, "Zur Kritik an den evangelischen Akademien," *Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik* 6/59, p. 379.



Tendencies of this kind can without doubt be found in modern Protestant social work, both as regards organization and content. We saw how, in reference to industrial work, the pattern of the Protestant working committee was conceived and finally justified on the basis of the theory of secondary ecclesiastical structures. This pattern is now multiplied in regard to other secondary structures:

Christian service groups which are related to one of the following areas of life: industry agriculture, handwork, trade, administration, politics, public health, education, publications, travel and transportation, cultural affairs... must be established. It is necessary that the church send her ministries out into the various functional realms of society as rays emanating from a center.<sup>35</sup>

The pattern of the working committee on industrial questions is multiplied in regard to other so-called areas of life. This organizational multiplication has its parallel in the multiplication, as far as content goes, of the "social reconstructing" conference which, almost without exception, is the basic principle of the various working committees.

The church of the future will be organized in such a way that there will be special ministries of the church, organized territorially, in a whole range of secular areas. These service groups of the territorial churches must be integrated on the local congregational level so that a second church organized along vocational lines is not set up next to a church organized around the local congregation.<sup>36</sup>

"If the word of God is to become flesh, then it must enter into the body of modern technical organizations and illuminate them from within."<sup>37</sup>

Upon closer inspection, it can rightly be said that this kind of tendency toward multiplication no longer proceeds primarily from the divergence in orientation. Instead, the ready made solutions of orientational divergence now appear to be the basis for transmission, application, and multiplication (following the accepted process of peripheral differentiation). The functional areas of modern society are placed under the "word of God"—as if such a direct "word" were unquestionably available. This does not only apply to the religious pattern of the ten working committees, but also to those cases in which the expression of the facts of modern life in contemporary "prayer formulas" is viewed as the main task—especially when done in such a pictorially naive form that one seriously has to ask how this practice can be reconciled with the understanding of the "mature man" which in the same breath is put forth in justification of it. It is correct to say that this involves a completely uncontrolled tactic of social accommodation which no longer allows for a deeper understanding of the so frequently misunderstood concept of accommodation. When this stage of self-developed objectification has been reached, the discussion of method occupies the foreground in every action, not merely because of the pressure of circumstances, but on principle. This fact can be clearly observed in wide reaches of

<sup>35</sup> E. Müller, *Die Erneuerung der Kirche*, Hamburg, 1959, p. 17.

<sup>36</sup> Müller, *oc. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>37</sup> Müller, *oc. cit.*, p. 24.



church work in the realm of the so-called "church-in-between": "The call to worship suddenly becomes a supplementary educational task"<sup>38</sup> for the accomplishment of which permanent discussions of method are necessary.

At this point it becomes clear how social work which has become objectified to this extent unintentionally acquires new problems of orientation which can no longer be directly related to those which gave them rise. But more than a problem of pedagogical misinterpretation is involved here: there are also new questions concerning tactical differentiation between territorial churches, other religious institutions, local congregations, secular organizations, and finally the problem of the permanent coordination of variously adapted individual enterprises arises. Organized social work becomes a direct element of the "world" to which it is directed; the world is no longer the object with which social work has to deal, but its form and content are basically determined by the world itself. Social work is the contemporary social reflex of a social institution. It is "an isolated tactical measures, which according to plan, that is, through specific organizations, limits the area of the church's activity."<sup>39</sup>

c) Precisely this, however, contrasts sharply with the introverted utopian tendencies which this form of social work has developed. The objectification of its understanding of itself is precisely not aimed at an isolated tactical measure, which in a limited sense could not only be thoroughly practical, but even essential. It is directed much more at the "renewal of the church,"<sup>40</sup> at the "church of tomorrow."<sup>41</sup> The objectification of its own understanding of social work projects itself against the background of a comprehensive view of church history in "three stages," in its own view of itself it sees "the necessity for the greatest transformation which the church has ever experienced." From this follows: "only when the church undergoes this transformation will she be able to have an effect upon the structures of modern society, and also serve to re-vitalize its own congregations." In the form of organized social work church history has been placed at man's disposal. The way has been found in which "an order of inner church cooperation can be set up which furthers rather than hinders the Holy Spirit."<sup>42</sup>

Trutz Rendtorff has hinted that there is no more relevant description for exaggerations of this type than that of naive optimism.<sup>43</sup> It must be noted, however, that we are here dealing with a development of such obvious success that it is better not to treat it so lightly. This opinion would hold true so long as we were dealing with mere phenomena of orientation. As soon as the level of social activity has been reached and surpassed, developments of this kind

<sup>38</sup> Wölber, *oc. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>39</sup> Wölber, *oc. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>40</sup> Title of the book by E. Müller, see above.

<sup>41</sup> The following quotations have been taken from Johannes Doehring's "Die Kirche von morgen" in the *Informationsblatt für die Gemeinden in den niederdeutschen lutherischen Landeskirchen*, 1/60.

<sup>42</sup> E. Müller, in *Die Mitarbeit* 5/59, p. 207.

<sup>43</sup> Trutz Rendtorff: "Gesellschaftsbildende Aufgaben der Kirchengemeinde"; speech at the Society for Protestant Theology in Bad Boll, April 4, 1959, rejecting the title of my essay "Manipulation als Arbeitsprinzip," *Die Mitarbeit*, 8/58.



acquire a much stronger emphasis. Because of the general uneasiness with respect to the parochial structure such views are substantiated to a degree which exceeds their real importance. This should be considered in an evaluation of the whole of Protestant social work.

## VII

We have now come to the final question. Since the aim of our discussion was not to present a final and conclusive presentation and analysis of the total complex of modern Protestant social work, but merely to show the ideological elements in it, we cannot here attempt an exhaustive interpretation of contemporary social actions, from the point of view of either theology or sociology. Our aim is only to outline certain questions and tasks which may provide an incentive for further study.

### A

First of all from the standpoint of the sociologists, attention must be called to a whole series of individual studies which must be undertaken in the future in order to clarify the questions dealt with here.<sup>44</sup> The need for such studies can only be accepted if in the course of our observations it has become clear that a basic form of the church is involved in Protestant social work. Despite its importance, a mere chronology or an attempt to justify the success of social work cannot claim to be a sociological study.

With these presuppositions in mind, I should like to suggest the following groups of topics for further sociological investigation:

1. By means of a comparative documentary analysis, the question concerning the changes which the view of society (and especially the picture of industry) has undergone in the whole diaconal work of the church in about the last 100 years, and also the external influences and inner processes which are related to these changes, must be studied. Such a study would significantly extend the realm of our observations on the social view held by modern Protestant social work not only temporally but also in respect to the underlying philosophy. We have only dealt marginally with the question of the external influences upon the view of society held in social work. It would certainly be worthwhile to compare the generally accepted ideology of society with the view of society held by Protestant social work and then to study their mutual influence upon each other. To do this, however, we need very extensive source material.

2. There is need for a basic literary-critical investigation of ideological phenomena in the whole realm of Protestant social ethics. An analysis of the various positions taken and the pronouncements of religious groups on social questions would have to be included here.

<sup>44</sup> Reference is made in this connection to the insights of H. H. Schrey in the *Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik* 6/57. Also see my essay in *Die Mitarbeit* "Die evangelische Sozialarbeit bedarf der soziologischen Analyse," 12/59.



3. The question of the character and types of programs in modern Protestant social work, which was merely indicated in our discussion, is just as much in need of basic study as are the types of organization and their structural changes. It would be advisable to expand an investigation of this type to include other church activities as well.

4. Finally there is a very practical question which has been approached rather hesitantly and only partially within church circles themselves, and which therefore should be investigated by a neutral research group if possible. I mean an analysis of the calling, the task and the manner of approach of the secretary for social work. Such a special investigation would naturally have to be conducted in close connection with the questions mentioned under 1) and 2).

These seem to me to be the most important questions to be investigated in regard to the phenomenon of Protestant social work. In many cases the results of such study would pave the way for concrete proposals to individual problems. I would maintain, however, that meaningful proposals can only be propounded after a fundamental critical study of ideological features in Protestant social work has been carried out. Otherwise the empirical results of the investigations and the proposals deriving therefrom could all too easily and up as simply attempts at justification. The important thing is that they deal with the specific problems of orientation in Protestant social work directly.

## B

Turning to the pronouncements of aims and purposes in Protestant social work one repeatedly encounters two theological ideas which differ, not in principle but merely in emphasis. In conclusion, these two ideas are thrown in for theological reflection.

In the first of these the task of Protestant social work, in so far as it is the work of the church, is taken to be that of calling the modern pluralistic society in all of its functional realms under the "kingship of Christ" from which it has obviously withdrawn itself. The "de-Christianized" secularized areas of life must be "called under the word of God" under which they obviously no longer live.

I quote Eberhard Müller:<sup>45</sup>

The question must be answered as to what can be done to guard the industrial congregation against isolation from the daily world of industry. The question must be answered how men working in industry achieve real brotherhood. The question must be answered how such a brotherhood in daily life can be brought into the right relationship with the brotherhood of Christians in the local congregations. The question must be answered how the industrial congregation itself can again gain a relevant perspective on the daily problems of the man working in industry. The question must be answered whether a cooperative industrial society must not be countered by a cooperative church which is developed along functional lines. The question must be answered where in this general area an order for cooperation within the church can be established which will further and not hinder the word of the Holy Spirit.

<sup>45</sup> *Die Mitarbeit* 5/59.



The second idea which comes up again and again also refers to the kingship of God but it sees the task not so much as one of leading man into the kingdom, but as proclaiming its presence. I quote Hans Storck:<sup>46</sup>

Proclamation in the New Testament is victory over the present. In its center stands the proclamation of the kingship of God on earth. This means that the Christians do not need to bring their God into the world. They only have to discover how this God is active not only in former times but also in present-day economic and political relationships and what conduct on the part of man best conforms to the mighty deeds of God. The task of proclamation is therefore victory over the present, that is, the proclamation must be understood as "giving meaning to industrial society." The meaning of the biblical records consists in the fact that in them is most clearly recorded the way in which the living God was active in the social and economic relationships of that time. Through the study of the Bible one's eye is sharpened to see and to express the effectiveness of God in the present cultural, social and economic relationships. The task consists in giving Christian witness in industrial society in such a way as to "illuminate with the gospel the essential events of the present in order to recognize what God is doing today."

In both of these ideas, proclamation is obviously understood as the victory over the present, in the first case this victory is mediated to men through the activities of the church; in the second case the victory results from showing God at work in the present. This is a difference in direction between two ideas which are the same in principle. The first direction corresponds to the formation of religious secondary structures, the second to the development of modern prayer formulas.

If we now ask about the standpoint which underlies the two directions, we are referred to those ideas which we expressed at the beginning, according to which the acknowledged differences of orientation in modern Protestant social work imply the obvious division between church and world, whereby both are nevertheless projected on an "ontological" level.<sup>47</sup> The question of the concept of the church which underlies the understanding of Protestant social work now arises. This question is limited by three definitions which, in respect to the factor "world," are derived from that which has been said above.

First it must be stated that "world" is commonly understood as society, in regard to the present, as industrial society (or whatever adjective is used). The question remains as to the theological meaning of this equation of "world" and "society"; whether it is even valid. A further question is, what can be said sociologically about a concept of society used in such a comprehensive sense?

Here a second definition may be of assistance to us. According to this view the concept of society appears as an abstract, and in itself, something that is not historically conditioned. Society is, to be sure, understood as the product of an historical social development and the over-emphasis on this view leads—as we have seen—to a whole series of suspect ideological features. Society itself seems to have broken out of the historical continuity in the form of an independent system of structures and activities which, to be sure, evidences changes and

<sup>46</sup> *Die Mitarbeit* 12/59.

<sup>47</sup> Compare Rendtorff, *oc. cit.*, footnote 13.



transformations but is not history as such. We touch here upon a basic philosophical problem of sociology in which the fact that the historical phenomenon "society" as a totality is *not* at man's disposal contradicts the fact that its structural elements *are*.<sup>48</sup> It is significant that in the theological understanding of Protestant social work this basic problem not only remains unsolved but it is not even considered, which leads to the fact that a theology of society in both of the directions outlined (the proclamation of the kingship of Christ, on the one hand, and the demonstration of the kingship of Christ, on the other) is possible only in the form of a theological doctrine of the structure of society.

Here we reach the third definition involved in the theological view of Protestant social work. Since the historicalness of the world which is conceived as "society" seems to relate only to its system and structural character but not to its nature as such, the definition of the relationships between church and world shifts to "world-transforming" activities, to social ethics, and to social work as practical social ethics. The major emphasis is put on the church's actions in society, which takes the form of the necessity to establish Christian criteria for social action and social criteria for the church's actions. This soon proves itself to be invalid in a theological as well as in an "empirical sociological" sense, and so the whole attempt gets bogged down in the kind of indefiniteness which it sought from the outset to overcome.

At this point it is finally necessary to raise the question whether a principle of autonomy is not evident in the whole of Protestant social work and its specific theology, which as a "view of man" stands in urgent need of theological correction. It is beyond question that this principle of autonomy receives decisive support from the scientific character of sociology, whereby it must be added in defense of sociology, that such an inadmissible substantiation of a hypothetical principle of autonomy is already inherent in the very fact that in certain areas secular scientific study is indispensable. It will be necessary for the discussion of the principles of modern social work to begin at this point. Only if we start here will it be possible to distinguish the above-mentioned ideological phenomena from the underlying differences in orientation. Only then will we have a starting point for an analysis of the activist missionary approach which is unique to Protestant social work and which makes it so difficult to bring the real diaconal merit in this work into its own.

---

<sup>48</sup> On the problem of the concept of society in theology and sociology, T. Rendtorff will develop further thoughts on the "Theologie der Gesellschaft" in the forthcoming volume dedicated to H. D. Wendland.



# FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

## *Executive Committee*

### **A New Land Discovered**

ANYONE READING THE MINUTES of the LWF Executive Committee meeting that took place from March 20 to 25 would not easily discover in them anything that made that meeting unique and outstanding. There were no momentous decisions or notable debates of important issues. Nevertheless there were some very significant things about that meeting.

One was the fact that it was held in a city in southern Brazil. As a gesture to idle novelty, we can note that it was thus the first Executive Committee meeting ever held south of the Equator or in the Western Hemisphere outside the United States. But its meaning was deeper than that: it was the first in "solidly Roman Catholic" Latin America. This was an important new experience for world Lutheranism, by whom that part of the world has sometimes been forgotten, or at least been regarded as outside her pale of religious responsibility. Dr. Franklin Clark Fry in his president's message at the opening stressed the significance of the meeting place, noting that "South America is one of the rapidly developing areas of the world in the 20th century."

The director of the Committee on Latin America, Dr. Stewart W. Herman, added that the promise of rapid development in the future applies also to Lutheran church work in this area. He interpreted "the fact that (this) meeting... is occurring on Latin American soil" as a sign of recognition that that part of the world contains "an increasingly important part of the world-wide Church of the Reformation." He urged Lutherans to turn their eyes not only to Asia and Africa but also to Latin America. In response to a suggestion from Dr. Herman, the following statement drafted by Oberkirchenrat Wolfgang Schanze, one of the German members, was included at the end of the minutes:

The Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Federation gives expression to its special joy that for the first time it had an opportunity of meeting on Latin American soil and of personally visiting and greeting the Evangelical Lutheran churches and congregations of this continent. With deep gratitude the Executive Committee acknowledges the brotherly spirit so evident in the friendly reception and the preparations made for this meeting. It was a gratifying realization that the Lutheran churches of South America are aware of their mission and are seeking with great zeal new ways of spreading further the gospel of God's grace in this great continent. It is especially noteworthy that the Lutheran Church is gaining ground in Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries. The Executive Committee was convinced that the vastness of the country, the scattered nature of the congregations and the enormous missionary task confronted the Latin American Lutheran churches with difficulties which can be overcome only with brotherly aid on the part of world Lutheranism. The member churches of the Lutheran World Federation are called upon to support the South American congregations through their prayers and through their active cooperation.

### **At Closer Range**

Coming together in Latin America was an important new experience not only for the Executive Committee as a body, but also for most of its members as individuals. Many took advantage of the opportunity to visit other points in scattered parts of South America where the Lutheran Church is at work. One such first-time visitor to that part of the world said he was impressed with the way Lutheran missionary work is progressing despite opposition in "nominally Roman Catholic" South America. All the committee members, whether they made such extra trips or not, had a chance to meet and talk with Lutheran pastors and lay leaders of Latin America, 23 of whom were present at the sessions by LWF invitation. Unfortunately, the Lutheran constituencies of quite a few countries were unable to send representatives, but Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela were represented.

But there was meaning also in the fact that Brazil, among all the Latin American coun-



tries, was the scene of this international Lutheran gathering. (The 1959 Reformed and the 1960 Baptist world conferences were likewise scheduled in Brazil.) That country, more than most others in Latin America, is free enough of political and social control by the Roman Catholic hierarchy to be able to show respect and consideration for its strong Protestant minority. This was reflected in the frankly strong and constructive interest that the local press exhibited in the visiting Lutheran churchmen both as individuals and as the leaders of a world Protestant body. It was reflected also in the presence and remarks of the state governor, Dr. Leonel Brizola, at the formal closing of the Executive Committee meeting. Declaring that the gathering of those eminent Lutheran leaders from numerous countries was "a very high honor" to the people of his state, he stressed that there, as elsewhere in Brazil, full religious liberty and freedom from religious discrimination exist in both law and practice. Dr. Fry replied that the LWF felt as much at home there as in any other part of the world.

In his earlier president's message, the LWF head had paid indirect tribute to the country's liberal tradition by quoting the saying that "Brazil is the country in the world where Protestant Christianity is growing the most rapidly in the middle of the 20th century." But Dr. Fry's more direct purpose was to refer to the fact that for the Executive Committee's first meeting in Latin America, it had as its host a body which he called "the largest and strongest... recognized and integral church in South America." He meant, of course, the 600,000-member Evangelical Church of Lutheran Confession in Brazil. This church, which in 1960 marks the tenth anniversary of both its formation by four regional synods and also its LWF affiliation, embraces roughly two-thirds of the entire Lutheran population in Latin America. Its president, Dr. Ernesto Schlieper, is a member of both the Executive Committee and the Latin America Committee—the only person from Latin America on either committee. "To have the awakened loyalty and interest and testimony of this great church at precisely this point in the world's life," Dr. Fry said, "is of great significance which we all here recognize by our presence and which we wish to encourage through having a meeting in this place."

More precisely, "this place" meant the city of Porto Alegre in Brazil's southernmost state

of Rio Grande do Sul, and even that was a detail full of meaning. It is particularly in that state, and above all in that city, that the Brazilian Church's strength is concentrated. In fact, the local host pastor, the Rev. Egon M. Koch, asserted without challenge that the largest Lutheran community in all Latin America is that of Porto Alegre. Committee members and non-Brazilian guests were greatly impressed with the size and importance of Lutheranism in that area, especially during a half-day excursion which included visits to the Church's huge complex of institutions at Sao Leopoldo and the strong Evangelical community at Novo Hamburgo.

### An Empty Chair

Another unique fact about the 1960 meeting was that it was carried out without the customary guiding presence of the Federation's executive secretary. That key functionary, Dr. Carl E. Lund-Quist, was unable for health reasons to organize the Executive Committee meeting or see to its effective carrying out. For him, as well as for everyone else concerned, this was an unhappy circumstance, unprecedented during his eight years in the post. Yet thanks to an extra dose of good will and cooperation on the part of a number of persons, it was possible to see the meeting through smoothly and effectively. Major credit for this goes on the one hand to Dr. Fry and the officers and on the other to Dr. Vilmos Vajta of the Department of Theology and the cabinet of directors which he heads by presidential appointment. Both spent many additional hours going over the federation's current affairs and preparing the necessary reports and recommendations for the Executive Committee. Lending them valuable assistance were Pastor Kurt Schmidt-Clausen, LWF assistant executive secretary-elect, and the two secretaries of Dr. Lund-Quist's office, the one handling the preparatory and follow-up work in Geneva, and the other on duty at Porto Alegre during the meeting itself. Pastor Schmidt-Clausen's post is a new one established by the officers last year to lighten the executive secretary's burdens of office.

Those at the meeting were pleased to listen to a letter from Dr. Lund-Quist in which, after some two months of his six-month health leave in the United States, he gave assurance that "my health condition continues to improve." More specifically, "my



blood pressure is normal and my anti-coagulant rate at the moment is completely satisfactory." The executive secretary was granted an extended leave in January after having been hospitalized four times in ten months because of high blood pressure and secondary symptoms.

Aside from these two unusual features, the Porto Alegre meeting was simply a series of sessions at which—with a minimum of debate—the committee fulfilled its regular duty of approving an annual core budget after having received reports from its various sub-organs: departments, commissions, committees, editorial offices, board of trustees and officers. The reports themselves set off very few resolutions, discussions or even vigorous questions. This, however, may be explained not only by the fact that their drafters did not feel obliged to lay any major recommendations or issues before the committee but also by the clear, careful and complete way most of these reports were written, in the judgment of some of the committee members. Moreover, it should not be concluded that the committee's four and a half days of business sessions were spent on routine trivialities. To the contrary, the LWF leaders gave their time and attention to a thorough review of developments and plans of several highly important undertakings in the federation's life. Chief of these were the inter-confessional research program, the African radio station, and the 1963 Assembly in Finland.

### **Across Confessional Lines**

Concerning the inter-confessional research program, much has been published in the *Lutheran World* in the past year and more will appear in the months to come; it is not necessary to duplicate that information in the present chronicle. Dr. Fry in his president's message recalled that this program "had been planned by the Lutheran World Federation before it was generally known that relations between Roman Catholics and Protestants would be in the focus of attention at this time." The timeliness of this undertaking, he declared, is "a tribute to the foresight" of those who conceived it.

The Executive Committee approved a \$25,000 annual budget requested by the LWF's Special Commission on Inter-Confessional Research and strongly supported by both Dr. Vajta and the commission chairman,

Bishop Hermann Dietzfelbinger of the Lutheran Church in Bavaria. However, the committee stipulated that the funds for this purpose should be raised "entirely outside the regular LWF budget"—just as they are for all of the other major field activities and projects of the federation. It urged "all member churches... to consider a contribution, large or small, and thus indicate by their tangible support their keen interest and active participation in this new project."

About the African radio station, there has also been some information published in this journal. However, mention should be made of some of the latest developments reported at Porto Alegre by the Department of World Mission.

(1) Up to mid-February, Lutherans in 13 countries had contributed or pledged a total of \$478,707 toward the radio project, of which \$173,217 had already been received at LWF headquarters. The remaining approximately \$300,000 consists mostly of large pledges from American Lutheran bodies which are to be paid off in equal amounts over a three-year period.

(2) The station's board of directors will be constituted in connection with the next meeting of the Commission on World Mission at Bukoba, Tanganyika, from Aug. 28 to Sept. 3. Instructions for the board's composition were given by the Executive Committee at its previous meeting in Strasbourg. Now that the radio project is moving into more advanced stages, the officers of the Commission on World Mission decided that it was time to carry out these instructions.

(3) Federation representatives have already begun negotiating with the Government of Ethiopia the terms under which Lutherans will be permitted to establish and operate their station in that country. Out of these talks so far have come decisions to locate the station in or near the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa and to use the name "Voice of the Gospel" for the LWF broadcasting service.

### **Eyes toward Helsinki**

With respect to plans for the Helsinki Assembly—whose dates will be July 30 to Aug. 11, 1963—some progress was made at Porto Alegre, although perhaps not so much as some had hoped. It was not that there was an inadequate attempt in this direction. Two ample, suggestive reports were presented:



one by Dr. Vajta on the approach to the assembly theme, and the other from the Finnish general committee on arrangements. Furthermore, one of the three special committees named to function during the Porto Alegre meeting had assembly matters as its sole responsibility. (The other two had to do with finances and resolutions.) Finally, considerable time was allowed in the plenary sessions of the Executive Committee itself for discussion of this subject. In the end, agreement was reached on broad outlines of the assembly program, which because of its Finnish setting will necessarily be somewhat different from those at Hannover and Minneapolis.

With the important matter of formulating an assembly theme, however, the Executive Committee wrestled earnestly but inconclusively. It finally decided that it should "lie in the area of the relation between justification of the sinner through Jesus Christ and the life and service of the individual Christian as well as of the Church." It was not yet ready, though, to settle on a concise but lucid and gripping phrase to express this idea. Several suggestions were received and commended, but none was accorded unanimous support. In some cases it was objected that they could not be effectively translated into the other assembly languages—or at least into German or English, as the case might be. The Federation's different commissions and national committees were asked to study and discuss the matter further, trying to come up with fresh proposals. And then, "not later than the beginning of 1961," the Executive Committee said, LWF headquarters should call a special consultation on the theme, "with as wide a representation as possible."

An interesting sidelight on assembly plans was brought out in two of the relatively few resolutions passed at Porto Alegre on the basis of recommendations in a commission report. In these two actions, member churches were asked "to give every consideration to the inclusion of women in their official delegations" to the assembly, and "as far as possible to include youth representatives among the official visitors in their delegations." The requests for such actions came from the Commission on Stewardship and Congregational Life, which feels that especially women should be given more opportunities to take active parts in all phases of LWF life. It asked the Executive Committee also to see to it that women were appointed to

all of the Federation's regular commissions. At present only the Stewardship Commission itself has such bi-sexual membership; the others consist solely of men. Although not bringing any recommendation to the floor for plenary action, the resolutions committee expressed confidence that the Executive Committee "will doubtless include women in all commissions where such appointments are objectively justified."

### More Younger Churches

Acceptance of new member churches is not too uncommon at Executive Committee meetings, but those whose applications were acted upon at Porto Alegre were distinctive in that they all were younger churches in "mission areas." The approved applicants were the 22,000-member Lutheran Church of Central Tanganyika, the 28,000-member Usambara-Digo Lutheran Church in the same country, and the 4,500-member Taiwan Lutheran Church. In accordance with a constitutional amendment adopted at the 1957 Assembly in Minneapolis, admission of these churches becomes fully effective only after one year, provided that in the meantime not more than one-third of the present member churches raises objection. Their admission will increase the roll of LWF-affiliated churches to 64, located in 33 countries. Of these, 11 are in Asia and five in Africa. Action on a fourth application, from the Lutheran Ovambokavango Church of South-West Africa, was deferred until a question about its autonomous status can be cleared up.

In addition, the Executive Committee granted recognition to a congregation in La Paz, Bolivia, and to a council of Lutheran churches in Venezuela. The status of "recognized congregations" is accorded to local churches in countries where there is no general church body affiliated with the Federation, to enable them to have fuller ties with world Lutheranism. Eight other congregations, all in South America, previously had obtained such recognition. Of those eight, four are in Venezuela. These, together with two other churches in that country, formally established the Lutheran Council of Venezuela in May 1959. Acting upon an application from this council, the Executive Committee declared it the official channel through which the LWF would deal with Lutheran congrega-



tions in Venezuela. It thus gave it identical status with that granted in 1957 to the Lutheran Council of Great Britain. In both instances, one of the purposes is to fix a clearinghouse through which to deal with requests for LWF financial aid.

These actions affecting churches in Bolivia and Venezuela were among the many indications at Porto Alegre of the progress being made by Lutheranism in Latin America. From all they saw and heard while in that part of the world, Executive Committee members could verify the report of the director of the Committee on Latin America that the Lutheran churches there "are growing in stature and increasing in momentum," as well as exhibiting "evidence of maturity and mission." They could also see how "the number of pastors is not keeping pace with the need, let alone the opportunities, which face us," in the words of the Latin America report.

On the other hand, Dr. Herman was able to cite a long list of "significant developments (which) may be pointed out as harbingers of new departures into very promising directions." To that list could now be added another such development that came to a head at a Latin America Committee meeting in Porto Alegre immediately after the Executive Committee sessions. It was the appointment of the first LWF-LA field representative—Pastor Guido Tornquist of Brazil. The new field secretary, according to Dr. Herman, will have "special responsibility for our work in the Caribbean area and for such other matters as will be assigned to him."

### Theology, World Service, Missions

Among the reports from other Federation offices, the one from the Department of Theology told how prominent theological scholars representing a wide range of confessional and personal positions on the Reformation will gather next August for an LWF-convened international research congress. The director of the department, Dr. Vajta, said he expected that "all leading personalities in the field of Luther research," representing "all shades of theological opinion," would participate in the congress, which is to take place at Münster, Germany, from August 8 to 13.

The report from the Department of World Service told how the LWF plans to join with

other Christian agencies in "a coordinated action" of assistance to some of the millions of displaced persons from Pakistan now living in the West Bengal area of India, under a new program undertaken in World Refugee Year. Other refugee groups in Hong Kong, the Middle East, Austria and Germany are helped by Lutheran churches and national committees under both the \$1.5 million regular annual program and the \$1 million special World Refugee Year program of Lutheran World Service. For the latter program, at the three-quarters mark of World Refugee Year on March 1, contributions and pledges already received totaled 83.6 per cent of the goal.

Besides "providing the witnessing community with the opportunity of aiding non-Christians," Director Bengt Hoffman reported, the department is "pursuing (its) task of strengthening the witnessing community." This includes aid to churches in totalitarian countries where they do not have "full freedom of competition in the field of opinion and faith," as well as "congregation extension among refugees and migrants" in Europe, Australia and South Africa, "revitalizing congregations" in stewardship, and operation of a church workers' exchange program.

In the report of the Department of World Mission, it was revealed that support for its program in Asia and Africa from mission societies and churches in Europe has increased greatly in the past few years. Of special import is the fact that the European churches, which traditionally left all responsibility for overseas work to the organizationally independent mission societies, have now begun to help carry the financial burdens of such work. "The new support for DWM's program is apparently matched by growing support from European churches for their mission societies," Director Arne Sovik said.

This new trend has assumed noteworthy proportions in Germany, where the United Evangelical Lutheran Church has promised to try to raise 200,000 marks (nearly \$48,000) for the department, according to Dr. Sovik. "This is the first time that the German churches as a group have pledged to our annual program budget." The Executive Committee expressed gratification over these developments "in Germany and in Europe in general with reference to the direct participation of the churches in the missionary movement," noting appreciation of their "theological and practical significance."



### Miscellanea

Dr. Malvin H. Lundeen, president of the Augustana Lutheran Church, was unanimously elected an Executive Committee member, replacing Dr. Oscar A. Benson, who had resigned. Dr. Benson was president of Augustana until June 1959, when he retired under a constitutional age limitation and Dr. Lundeen was named his successor in that post.

The committee learned from the written report of Editor Julius Bodensieck that the LWF's projected four-volume universal Lutheran Encyclopedia, contrary to earlier hopes, would probably not be ready by the time of the 1963 Assembly. "I am reasonably certain that it will be impossible to have the encyclopedia on the market by the time of the next assembly," said Dr. Bodensieck, who is a professor at Wartburg Seminary in the United States. Expressing concern over this prospect, the committee asked its officers "to take all feasible steps as they may see fit" to the end that the encyclopedia may come out "by the time of the assembly in Helsinki, and in any case not later than six months thereafter."

A core budget of \$227,700 for the operation of the Federation's central offices in Geneva was adopted by the Executive Committee. This is additional to departmental program or field budgets totaling over \$2 million which are dealt with directly by certain LWF commissions. Furthermore, a report presented at Porto Alegre showed that Lutheran groups up to then had given or pledged a total of \$75,335 toward the cost of the new headquarters building of the World Council of Churches in Geneva. The LWF will be one of the occupants of that building, for which blueprints were approved by the WCC Executive Committee at Buenos Aires in February, and Lutheran churches have been asked to channel their contributions through the Federation.

The Executive Committee appointed Department Directors Vilmos Vajta and Arne Sovik to new terms of office ending on April 30, 1964. Reappointed to the same date was Dr. Sigurd Aske, associate director of the Department of World Mission who has been temporarily relieved of his regular duties to direct the department's radio project. Headquarters personnel changes reported at Porto Alegre included: (1) appointment of the Rev. Bruno Muetzelfeldt of Australia to succeed

Mr. Donald Anderson of the United States as LWF secretary for resettlement and material relief, effective July 1, and (2) resignation of Dr. Johannes Lehmann as German news editor in the News Bureau, effective April 30. The latter's successor has not yet been named.

WILLIAM A. DUDDE

## *Latin America*

### Report of the Committee on Latin America

A NEW CHAPTER IN LWF HISTORY has begun! The fact that the LWF Executive Committee met for the first time in Latin America last March merits special attention, for this was its first meeting below the equator and in the world of the "younger churches."

It is not nearly so remarkable that the LWF Committee on Latin America should meet for the third time in South America but there is danger that the sessions in Porto Alegre may be completely over-shadowed by the Executive Committee to which it is responsible. Both meetings fell in the same week.

It would be a mistake, of course, to assume that the agenda of the Executive Committee was primarily concerned with Latin America. Except for the official "recognition" accorded to the Lutheran congregation at La Paz, Bolivia, and also the recognition given to the Lutheran Council of Venezuela as the spokesmen for the six congregations in that country, there was virtually no reference to Latin America in the deliberations of the Executive Committee aside from the regular report of the LWF-LA director.

It would be wrong to conclude, however, that Latin America left no impact upon the members of the Executive Committee or that these distinguished gentlemen made no impact upon our South American church. Carefully planned trips before and after Porto Alegre carried visitors into practically every South American country from British Guiana to South Chile. Among those who gave extra weeks of their precious time to these visitations were President Franklin Clark Fry, Bishop Bo Giertz, Bishop Dietzfelbinger, and Bishop Krummacher. Others



whose visits involved not quite as much mileage but almost as much time were Bishop Manikam, Oberkirchenrat Schanze and Dr. Weeber. Of course, the members of the LWF-LA Committee also travelled widely but that is to be regarded as in the line of duty.

### LWF-LA Agenda

By far the most significant decision at Porto Alegre was the appointment of the first full-time LWF-LA field representative, whose responsibility will be to maintain closer contact with Lutheran pastors and congregations in Caribbean areas stretching from Mexico to Ecuador, and who will also prepare the annual pastoral conferences such as the one which brought 22 men together at Bogota with Dr. Fry. The first Pastors' Conference sponsored by LWF-LA several years ago could muster only six or seven men from this same diaspora area.

The person chosen for this position is a Brazilian pastor with the "multilingual" name of Guido Tornquist. Despite a severe shortage of pastors in Brazil his synod agreed to release him from a very important congregation in order to provide an anchor for the Latin American Committee in Latin America itself. If the Lutheran faith is to be fully effective, our cooperation must have its roots in the region.

Pastor Tornquist, with his command of Portuguese, German, Swedish and English, is admirably qualified to become not only the link between LWF and LA but also a greatly needed link between the church in Brazil and those in the Spanish-speaking countries.

A report was made to the LWF-LA Committee regarding the progress in "contact, communication and cooperation" since the Buenos Aires Conference. The committee was so gratified by numerous evidences of cooperation that it instructed the director to send out a letter to all church leaders informing them of what was being done and suggesting that efforts in direction of closer fellowship should be intensified. The need for greater Lutheran strength on the national level is apparent in all countries.

Inter-Lutheran cooperation includes common planning on the part of missions from the outside and the churches from the inside. Thus the committee noted with satisfaction the beginning of negotiations between the

Augustina Lutheran Church's Board of World Mission and the Lutheran Church in Chile. This follows a pattern established in Brazil between the Lutheran Church there and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the US.

In addition to these basic questions the LWF committee had many housekeeping items on its agenda. They included financial problems of great importance. With an annual budget of only \$180,000, LWF-LA resources may be regarded as very limited. New grants and loans made to several congregations including the one at La Paz exhausted our Capital Funds.

The last dollars went to establish a parish center for Hungarians, Estonians and university students in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Student work in Sao Paulo will now begin on a part time basis under the ministry of the local Hungarian Lutheran pastor. This will supplement the student work which has begun with LWF-LA help in two other centers, namely Porto Alegre and Curitiba. It should be mentioned that at Porto Alegre the Lutheran foundation now consists of 3 houses sheltering 70 students and that plans are being made for a "Lutheran student village" near the new University City.

Plans for a Communications Conference in 1961, probably at Caracas, were outlined. Recent developments with respect to the publication of Luther's writings in Spanish were reported, as well as the proposal to establish a joint Lutheran publishing enterprise under the name *El Escudo*. Brazil submitted a request to help launch their Portuguese literary program immediately and a total of \$4,000 for this purpose was granted.

In the field of ecumenical fellowship it was agreed that Lutherans should be encouraged to participate in the Second Latin American Evangelical Congress which is being planned for July 1961. Gradually the Lutherans of Latin America are coming to the forefront of Protestant life and claiming their share of the total Evangelical task. It was apparent that both press and radio in Brazil were devoting much attention to the Porto Alegre meetings. In other countries the visits of Lutheran VIP's attracted considerable notice.

In brief, it would appear that the descendants of Martin Luther need not fear being confined to a religious and social ghetto, unless by their own choice.

STEWART HERMAN



## *Stewardship and Congregational Life*

**[Commission Meeting in Berlin,  
January 11-16, 1960]**

STEADY PROGRESS in several major and minor projects was registered by the Berlin meeting of the Commission on Stewardship and Congregational Life, January 11-16, in the Evangelische Johannesstift. This was the second meeting of the three that are planned by this commission between the LWF Assemblies, the first having been in Gothenburg in 1958. Since this is a study group without a working budget or full-time staff, studies have been assigned to National Committees and to individuals under the supervision of the Commission.

### **Conference Precedes**

The first three days of the commission meeting were a wider conference to which a limited number of those with special responsibilities in stewardship, evangelism, youth work, men's work, and women's work in the national churches were invited. Every continent except South America was represented by the 54 delegates who attended, in addition to the 11 Commission members and LWF staff from Berlin and Geneva. Here a dozen main study reports, shorter oral reports, and lectures were received and discussed, including such subjects as "How to Train Laity and Put Them to Work in the Congregation," "The Role of Laity in the Life of the Congregation," "Aksjons in Norway," "Special Worship Services," and "Special Pastoral Counseling."

One paper which drew intense discussion was on "The Stewardship of Money" by Pastor Herbert Reich, who gave an evaluation of stewardship in the American churches as he had observed it under the LWF exchange program and since his travels in the United States. Pastor Reich warned against a stewardship that is primarily a response to the first article of the Apostles' Creed without adequate recognition of the second article of the Creed. He argued for a response to God that does not depend upon his material blessings. This is the first time that this subject has been dealt with in a major way

as such by the Commission and it will continue to be given major attention at the next meeting. The Commission requested the LWF Stewardship Secretary to speak on this subject in his work whenever there were opportunities and to encourage developments in this field among the various churches in his travels.

A main study report on "Church and Leisure" by Dr. Hans-Eckehard Bahr of Kiel gave a scholarly analysis of the task which leisure time places before the church. He established the fact that millions of workers in Europe are entering into a five-day week, leaving a full weekend for other interests. This new phenomenon confronts the church with the necessity of rethinking its program in terms of meeting the changing needs of the modern worker. A working definition of leisure time was given as room to develop the personality—elbow room for the personality. Most people are incapable of using their leisure time properly without guidance.

In meeting "the great number of non-theological factors leading to a neglect of church services and furthermore to an estrangement from the church," Dr. Bahr made several proposals: (1) identify Saturday as the day for recreation and odd things while keeping Sunday as a quiet day for God; (2) let church activities and worship minister to the whole family as a unit, rather than dividing the family into individuals; (3) in addition to building large houses of worship, build community centers where the church can offer service of an entirely different character; (4) develop lay leaders to direct activities using leisure time; and (5) enter the mass media fields of press, radio, and television, especially on week ends, since these media are shifting the spiritual center of their programs to the weekends.

### **Women's Work and Marriage Counseling**

Enthusiastic acclaim was given to a paper on "Methods of Lutheran Women's Work" by Mrs. Liselotte Nold of Stein, which began: "A German church-leader recently made the following statement: 'At present the church is in danger of losing the women as widely as it lost the workmen a hundred years ago.' Seeing that in almost every church service the women outnumber the men, one might think that this church leader is inclined to exaggerate things... however, among the women who are faithful to the church, the



younger age-groups are missing. Going more into the matter you will see that professional women, mothers working outside the home, factory women, and graduate women are represented very sparsely." Mrs. Nold listed reasons for many women not participating in the church as the unbelievable secularity of the surrounding culture, the irrelevance of the church to modern realities, and the condemnation of working mothers by the church. To meet this critical situation the church must revise its attitudes, activities, materials, and leadership.

In this connection the Commission noted that it was the only LWF group with women on its membership, and it recommended to the LWF Executive Committee that in the future women be appointed to each commission and that the choice of these women be made, if possible, in consultation with women's work leaders in the member churches. Furthermore, a request to the Executive Committee for approval of a pre-Assembly conference of Lutheran women of the world in 1963 in Stein bei Nürnberg was forwarded.

Another main study report by Dr. Matti Joensuu of Helsinki dealt with "Marriage Counseling and Parents' Work" with scholarly authority. Explanation was given of special marital counseling developments in recent years, of the work of marriage counseling centers, and of the kind of training such workers receive. Developments in parents' work were described against the background of modern disturbing factors in family life.

Vigorous discussion followed a paper on "Evangelical Academies and the Congregation" by Dr. Hans Bolewski of Loccum. It was agreed that the academies are restoring a Christian orientation to life for many lay people. They are also resulting in small groups of laymen meeting for discussion outside the church, in several communities. The question was raised as to what responsibility the academies feel for the renewing of the life of the congregations. How can the academy and the congregation become more truly partners? The Commission decided to broaden its study of this development.

Altogether the Conference on Stewardship and Congregational Life made possible a wide sharing of these subjects between representatives of member churches of the LWF in many places of the world. A weakness of the conference was that it covered too varied a range of subjects, not allowing enough opportunity to discuss the subjects deeply.

The Commission itself will supervise the carrying forward of study of those major and minor themes thought worthy of further intensive study. The conference served as an advisory group to the Commission, offering counsel on its projects and procedures. Most of the papers of the conference are available on request from the LWF Secretary for Stewardship and Evangelism, the Rev. Richard N. Nelson, as a further service to the congregations and member churches.

### Commission Actions

For a theological break-through in stewardship, the Commission voted that "a book be written with an emphasis on the theological implications, without neglecting the practical questions; and that the Department of Theology be requested to select an author for this book, with the hope that it may be published and made available to the member churches of the LWF (if possible by the time of the Helsinki Assembly). This book will be printed in German and English."

A request was forwarded to the LWF Executive Committee for approval of a pre-Assembly Lutheran world youth conference with a limited number of delegates. The Commission also asked that youth be assured of participation in the 1963 Assembly in as representative a manner as possible, adding the strong hope that one youth be a part of the delegation of each church, if the quota of a church allows it.

Unanimous encouragement was given to the continuance of the office of Secretary for Stewardship and Congregational Life with specific recommendations "that further work of this office should concentrate on consolidating projects (already started),... that more emphasis be placed on stewardship of money... and that priority be given to encouraging and establishing pilot projects." Since some younger churches have asked for assistance, the Commission agreed that "there should be done what is necessary and possible when such help is requested by the Department of World Mission."

The LWF Executive Committee was requested to approve a second European Stewardship Conference to be held in Copenhagen in the spring of 1961, following the first conference in Høisbøttel in 1959. The Commission specified that only designated stewardship leaders of member churches should attend, that the conference should be



essentially a workshop, and that the churches represented provide the necessary funds.

Since the Commission on Inner Missions had asked the LWF Executive Committee what unit of the LWF has responsibility for evangelism, an Ad Hoc Committee on Evangelism was appointed by the LWF president. This committee in its report recognized that "the scope of evangelism is larger than any single unit of the LWF, that all units of the Federation in different aspects have a concern with evangelism, and that overlapping in this concern is not surprising. However, it was also agreed that evangelism is fundamentally a concern of congregational life and that therefore it should continue to have its primary focus in this Commission (of Stewardship and Congregational Life)." To stimulate and coordinate developments in evangelism it was recommended:

a) That the Secretary for Stewardship and Congregational Life call to the attention of the National Committees, Contact Persons, and interested groups the possibilities for greater use of the Church Workers' Exchange Program of the LWF/WS and bi-lateral exchanges between member churches in the field of evangelism.

b) That, since other units of the Federation have related concerns in evangelism, an exchange of minutes be arranged between this Commission and the Commissions on Inner Mission and Education, and the Department of World Mission, when evangelism has been an item on the agenda.

c) That as a first step toward a possible study in evangelism under the Commission on Stewardship and Congregational Life, the World Council of Churches document entitled "A Theological Reflection on the Work of Evangelism" be distributed to the Contact Persons and member churches for critical study and evaluation with a report back to the Stewardship Secretary.

The Commission recommended to the Department of World Service the practice of sending "fraternal workers" under the Church Workers' Exchange Program. This means that an exchangee could go back a second time to an assigned country, this time with the additional responsibility of giving to the church in that country as well as receiving from it.

The next meeting of the Commission is scheduled for June of 1962.

ROBERT W. STACKEL

## *World Council of Churches*

### **Faith and Order**

#### **Introduction**

In this issue we are presenting two positions on inter-communion between Reformed and Lutherans, one from the realm of Faith and Order and the other (in the next section) from ecumenical youth work. To promote a better understanding, we are including in this section:

- 1) the Arnoldshain theses on the Lord's Supper issued in 1957, which have become the basis for theological discussion between Reformed and Lutherans;
- 2) the report of the theological commission of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany on these theses;
- 3) the declaration of the theological study group of Faith and Order at Liebfrauenberg.

The Arnoldshain theses were promulgated by a commission which included the following Lutheran and Reformed theologians: E. Bizer, H. Bornkamm, P. Brunner, F. J. Delekat, H. H. Gollwitzer, H. J. Iwand, J. Jeremias, E. Käsemann, W. Kreck, K. G. Kuhn, W. v. Loewenich, H. Meyer, Q. Michel, W. Niesel, E. Schlink, W. Schweitzer, H. Vogel, O. Weber, E. Wolf. This group of theologians belongs, without exception, to the German church.

Beyond this, there is an international study group of Lutheran and Reformed theologians which has been meeting for some years now at Eastertime in order to discuss questions of doctrine separating the two churches. At its meeting this year at Liebfrauenberg in northern Alsace, March 21-25, this "Lutheran-Reformed Conversation" broke new ground in that the Arnoldshain Communion theses were on its agenda for critical study. It was hoped that a first step could be taken to break the deadlock on the theses, by presenting them to an ecumenical forum, not integrally involved in the German theological situation, for critical examination. Unfortunately, it was not possible to get any of the members of the original group which formulated the theses to attend. The Reformed churches of Germany were also not represented. Among the Lutheran representatives were, among others: Professor Hoffman, Kiel; Prälat Metzger, Stuttgart (both of whom gave



introductory addresses), Professor Künneht, Erlangen; and Professor Suess, Paris. Among the Reformed participants were: Professor Mehl, Strassbourg, who chaired the meeting along with Professor Hoffman; Professor Lekkerkerker, Groningen; Professor Smith, Glasgow; Professor Cairns, Aberdeen; Professor Bosc, Paris; and Professor Bonnard, Lausanne.

During the course of the discussions it became evident that the terminology of the Arnoldshain theses could not be carried over as such into non-German theology. On the other hand, it became clear that questions resulting from the theological and practical situations in other lands must also be taken into consideration in the continuation of the discussions on the Lord's Supper. Even though no common agreement on many individual points was reached, Lutherans and Reformed found themselves, and this was what was so surprising about the discussion, combining to urge certain things: both sides urged a stronger emphasis upon the institution of the sacrament in the night before Christ's death.

#### A. The Arnoldshain Theses

What do we, as members of the one Apostolic Church, understand as the decisive content of the biblical witness with respect to the Lord's Supper?

##### *First Thesis*

- 1) The Lord's Supper which we celebrate is based on its having been instituted and commanded by Jesus Christ, the Lord who died for us and rose again.
- 2) In the Lord's Supper the exalted Lord invites his own to his table and grants them participation here and now in the future fellowship of the kingdom of God.

##### *Second Thesis*

- 1) In the Lord's Supper Jesus Christ himself acts, under what the church does, as the Lord who is present in the Holy Spirit, through his word.
- 2) Like preaching, baptism, and the special pronouncement of the forgiveness of sins, the Lord's Supper is one of the ways in which Christ bestows upon us the gifts of the saving gospel.

##### *Third Thesis*

- 1) The Lord's Supper is an act of worship by the congregation assembled in the name of Jesus.
- 2) In Communion, the Supper is indissolubly bound up with the proclamation of the saving death of Jesus, which takes place by means of the oral word.
- 3) Accompanied by prayer, thanksgiving and praise, bread and wine are taken, the Lord's words of institution are pronounced, and the bread and wine are distributed to the congregation to be eaten and drunk.
- 4) In the Lord's Supper we commemorate the death of Christ, through which God has reconciled the world to himself once and for all; in it we confess the presence of the risen Lord in our midst and joyfully await his return, as those called unto glory in the final consummation.

##### *Fourth Thesis*

The words which our Lord Jesus Christ speaks when he offers the bread and the cup tell us what he himself gives to all who come to this Supper: he, the crucified and risen Lord, permits himself to be taken in his body and blood given and shed for all, through his word of promise, with the bread and wine, and grants us participation, by virtue of the Holy Spirit, in the victory of his lordship, so that we, believing in his promise, may receive forgiveness of sins, life and salvation.

##### *Fifth Thesis*

Therefore, what happens in the Lord's Supper is not adequately described

- a) when it is taught that, by means of the Lord's words of institution, bread and wine are changed into a supernatural substance, thus ceasing to be bread and wine;
- b) when it is taught that a repetition of the act of salvation takes place in the Lord's Supper;
- c) when it is taught that in the Lord's Supper either a natural or a supernatural "matter" is distributed;
- d) when it is taught that there are two parallel but separate processes which take place, one an eating on the part of the body and the other an eating on the part of the soul;
- e) when it is taught that the eating on the part of the body as such saves one, or that participation in the body and blood of Christ is a purely mental or spiritual matter.



*Sixth Thesis*

1) Jesus Christ, who saved us from the wrath of God's judgment which brings death, is both the beginning and the head of a new creation.

2) Through him, we who receive his body and his blood are united in his body, the church, and are made partakers of the promised new covenant which God has instituted through the blood of Jesus.

3) The Lord's Supper places us within the fellowship of the brethren and thus testifies to us the fact that what enslaves and divides us in this aeon has been broken down in Christ and that, in the midst of the sinners he has pardoned, the Lord has inaugurated a new humanity.

*Seventh Thesis*

1) The Lord's Supper places us on the way of Christ's cross. The cross points out the way for us into the reality of this world. Where we are weak, the grace of God is strong. When we die, we live with him. His victory is still hidden beneath temptation and suffering. That is why the Lord feeds us through his Supper, in order to strengthen us in the struggle into which he sends his own, and in order to arm us against every kind of enthusiasm as well as every kind of lethargy, so as to prevent us either from anticipating that which is to come in deceptive dreams, or from giving up in despair.

2) In the congregation to which he gives himself in the Lord's Supper we are brethren. This fellowship depends for its life on the love with which he first loved us. He, the righteous, has accepted us, the unrighteous; he, the free, has accepted us, the bound; he, the exalted, has accepted us, the lowly. In the same way, we also must share all that we are and have with those who need us.

*Eighth Thesis*

1) Faith receives what is promised to it and builds on this promise, not on any worthiness of its own.

2) The word of God warns us against any disregard for and misuse of the Lord's Supper, so that we do not sin against the majesty of this gift and bring down God's judgment upon us.

3) Because the Lord is generous to all who call upon him, all the members of his church are called to this Supper, and the forgiveness of sins is promised to all who long for the righteousness of God.

\* \* \*

**B. Statement of the Theological Commission of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany**

The Arnoldshain theses on the Lord's Supper were forwarded for study and comment to all of the member churches of the Evangelical Church in Germany and thus to the member churches of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany as well, so as to further the essential theological reflection on the Lord's Supper and the attempt at understanding between the Reformation confessions in Germany.

This study document produced by an official theological commission called together by the Evangelical Church in Germany has in many respects been a helpful word in the contemporary German confessional and theological situation. Its aim is to bring closer together the Protestant churches of different confessions, whose boundaries have been erased to a great extent by the population movements in Germany. It can aid in checking the uncertainty and confusion which exist in the preaching on and the practice of Holy Communion, thus clearing away some of the obstacles which stand in the way of a growing desire for the Lord's Supper in the congregations.

It seems to us especially important that here we do not have a mere repristination of the dogmatic discussions between the Confessional Churches of the Reformation, but that there was no evasion of the questions of modern historical research which have been carried on in a particularly intensive and radical manner in Germany since the eighteenth century. As became clear at the very earliest stage of the conversations on the Lord's Supper, modern Biblical research cannot of itself transcend the doctrinal differences of the 16th century, its own representatives diverge too widely from each other in their exegetical conclusions. It is all the more significant as a fact of theological history, that in the production of these theses representatives of modern Biblical research have joined with systematic theologians and church historians in taking a first step beyond their historico-exegetical particular conclusions, producing agreed statements which show a sense of responsibility to the Church. We should be grateful for this promising development in theological study, which produced statements that throw into fresh relief important



aspects of the New Testament message, which remain in the background in the doctrinal formulations of Reformation times, as a result of the different setting of the questions.

Like those formulations the theses begin with Jesus Christ as the giver and the gift in the Lord's Supper; the exalted Lord who gives himself in his body and blood with bread and wine to all who come to this feast, to be their own. From this standpoint they throw into visible relief the ecclesiological, ethical, and eschatological reference of the feast; the Lord incorporates in his body the church those who receive his body, and takes them into his service in obedient action. Thus the feast is travellers' food for the journeying people of God, who in its celebration proclaim the death of the Lord "until he come."

Such far-reaching insights led to a new approach to many of the doctrinal statements of the Reformation period. The Reformed participants gave up the parallelism of a bodily and a spiritual eating, viewed as distinct processes, localizing the body of the exalted Christ at the right hand of God, and making the gift dependent upon the faith of the recipient. The Lutheran participants, too, did not repeat certain formulations which were conditioned by the questions of the Reformation period and the thought patterns of that time. In particular, they gave up the attempt to maintain the presence of the body and blood of Christ through terms like *res*, *substantia*, or *materia*, concepts which are misunderstood today because of the profound change in meaning which they have undergone since the Reformation. In order to counter-act the danger of separating the gift of the sacrament from the person and history of Jesus, they held to that which is essential in the form of statements about the total event of the Lord's Supper, without compromising the doctrine of the Lutheran Confessions.

## II

The positive valuation of the Arnoldshain theses on the Lord's Supper presupposes that they be understood in detail as follows:

### 1. Thesis 1,1:

The Communion was instituted by Jesus Christ in the night of his betrayal, and in the congregation's celebration of the Communion it is the Lord who died and

rose again who acts; at the same time, through this act he develops the understanding of that which he has instituted.

### 2. Thesis 2,2:

The Communion is *one* of the 'ways' "in which Christ bestows upon us the gifts of the saving gospel"; but at the same time it is a *special* way; its specialness consists in the fact that in the Communion Christ gives his body and his blood.

### 3. Thesis 3,3:

"Accompanied by prayer, thanksgiving and praise," and through the pronouncing of the words of institution, bread and wine are set aside and are placed at the disposal of Christ's own giving of himself in his body and blood.

### 4. Thesis 4 and Thesis 5, c and d:

In the Communion Jesus Christ "gives himself" "in his body and blood given and shed for all" "to all who come." He "permits himself to be taken." That means: he gives himself to all and is received by all even when the fruits of Communion ("the forgiveness of sins, life and salvation") are only received by the believers. The sin against "the majesty of this gift" (Thesis 8,2) is thus the sin against the Lord who gives himself bodily in this Supper.

## III

In contrast to and in part also in contradiction to the above interpretation of individual details of the Arnoldshain theses, the following interpretations have been represented in the discussion to date, some of them already at their presentation:

### 1. Thesis 1,1:

The formulation of this thesis consciously leaves the question open as to whether and in what way the Communion of the congregation is related to Jesus' last supper. The dogmatic statement that the Lord's Supper has been instituted by Christ is not supposed to be "an historical judgment," but rather expresses "the certainty that in the New Testament witness we have the witness of the church through which we hear the commission and promise of her Lord in the oneness of his being both the incarnate and the exalted one." (Cf. H. Gollwitzer in *Zur Lehre vom Heiligen Abendmahl*, 1958, p. 24.)



## 2. Thesis 2,2:

From the observation that the uniqueness of the Lord's Supper consists "not in the gift, but in the ways in which it is given," it is deduced that one need no longer ask the question as to the special gift of the Lord's Supper at all. At most the uniqueness of the Lord's Supper can be seen in the greater intensity of "the act of partaking bodily."

One can therefore no longer distinguish between the presence of Christ in the worship of the church ("the Lord who is present in the Holy Spirit through his word"), with which the second thesis is concerned, and the special presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, of which the third and fourth theses speak (cf. Gollwitzer, *ibid.*, pp. 25 and 29).

## 3. Thesis 3,3:

To forego the attempt to define more closely the use of the words of institution is supposed to do justice to the fact that the commission agreed "not to further the idea that a special act of consecration belongs to the essential parts of the Lord's Supper." Any emphasis on the setting apart of the elements is supposed to draw "dangerously close to the idea of transubstantiation" (cf. Gollwitzer, *ibid.*, p. 26).

## 4. Thesis 4 and Thesis 5, c and d:

In both the positive and negative theses, the concern was not only to exclude "all misleading ideas of substantiality" and to ward off any attempt to view the elements in isolation, but it is supposedly inadmissible to make any statements at all concerning the relation of the elements to the body and wine are "taken into" the totality of what happens in the Lord's Supper (cf. W. Kreck, *ibid.*, p. 43, and Gollwitzer, *ibid.*, p. 28 f.).

## 5. Thesis 4 and Thesis 8, 2:

It is a "monstrous assertion" to maintain that the Arnoldshain theses could be interpreted as containing the Lutheran doctrine of the *manducatio indignorum* (W. Niesel, *Reformierte Kirchenzeitung*, 1959, No. 1, Col. 13). The intention of the Arnoldshain theses is to treat this whole controversy as though it were resolved because each of the antithesis "can no longer be maintained". The formulation: what Christ "gives to all who come" means in effect that Christ's giving of himself is meant for all. One could put

it also paradoxically in this way: "Christ offers himself here to all, but one can receive him only in faith." (Cf. Gollwitzer, *ibid.*, p. 30; Kreck, *ibid.*, p. 45 f.).

## IV

The fact that the theses can be interpreted so differently makes a clarification necessary. To be sure, in theses of this kind a certain variation in interpretation and the possibility of various emphases is understandable, in fact, unavoidable. This dare not, however, lead to mutually exclusive and contradictory interpretations.

The theses themselves obviously encourage such interpretations because to a great extent their very *language* is ambiguous, even tortuous. Many formulations read like a carefully weighed compromise between elements of the Lutheran and the Reformed doctrines of the Lord's Supper, so that the points at which they are opposed are really not resolved but simply appear to be covered up.

For the sake of her preaching, however, the church needs clarity of doctrine, and for the sake of the congregation she needs simplicity of language, particularly in a matter which has been subjected to centuries-long debate.

Furthermore, in regard to the *content* of the theses, there is a marked tendency to emphasize the proclaimed word and, in contrast, to de-emphasize that which is unique in the Lord's Supper. The preference for non-static, personalist categories corresponds to the aversion to any kind of ontological statements; these cannot, however, be avoided. To be sure, in the Lord's Supper it is not simply a matter of the *presence* of the body and blood of Christ as a value in itself, but it is a matter of its being offered and received; but within this action and for its sake, the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, given and shed, must be unambiguously confessed. Although the body and blood of Christ are present in order to be received, they are not present merely to the faith of the recipient. It must be made indubitably clear that the bread and wine which are distributed to the recipient communicate to him the body and blood of Christ.

For this reason, the theses, as was said above, need clarification. We request, therefore, to investigate to what extent such clarification can be achieved by means of authoritative interpretation or to what extent a



reformulation must be undertaken. In our opinion the heading, theses 1, 1; 3, 3; 4 and 5, for example, require an unambiguous reformulation. Thesis 4, in particular, needs greater simplicity and clarity.

# V

Finally, the question must be raised as to what ecclesiastical status the Arnoldshain theses can and should have. As was already said in Part I, these theses are intended first of all as a study document; theological theses in which the subscribers in conscientious responsibility testify to that which they can state together concerning the Lord's Supper on the basis of exegesis and the dogmatic criticism of traditional doctrinal formulations.

The preface to the theses states: "What this result of the theological work to date can mean for questions of inter-communion and church fellowship needs further theological consideration". There is already the tendency, however, to view the Arnoldshain theses in many instances as a theological justification for an inter-communion which is already widely practised within German Protestantism as well as to accord them the value of a confessional statement.

The Arnoldshain theses, however, are not a confessional statement. In order for them to acquire the character of a public confessional statement, they would first of all have to be received by the churches and anchored in their constitutions, so that the ministry may be bound to them by means of ordination. Herein we all agree. The theses appear to us, however, incapable, by their very nature, of becoming confessions like those of the Lutheran Reformation, for they avoid saying in principle whether the confessions we now hold are to be considered as replaced or supplemented; in fact, they avoid saying just what the relationship between the older and newer formulations is to be.

Above all, the heading leads us to doubt whether authoritative doctrinal statements can be obtained by means of theses at all; for a confessional statement is not only an account of what we hear today as a message, but it is at the same time a statement of what we in the continuity of the church believe, teach and confess.

This modest and in many respects critical evaluation of this arduous work should not and cannot detract from the gratitude which we in the churches of the Lutheran confession

owe to the scholarship, the perseverance, and the piety of the authors. The theses point the way to a more profound understanding of the biblical basis of preaching on the Lord's Supper; in their scope they give such preaching its evangelical freedom. What we have here can with further clarification become an effective aid to the church in attaining a revitalization of its doctrine and in gathering around the gift of her exalted Lord.

\* \* \*

The above statement was prepared by the Theological Commission on behalf of the Bishops' Conference of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany to which it was presented on December 4, 1959. The Bishops' Conference forwarded this statement to the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany with the request that appropriate steps be taken to bring about the clarifications suggested by the Theological Commission.

## Liebfrauenberg Statement

*The following report on the Arnoldshain theses on the Lord's Supper was compiled by a working party of European Reformed and Lutheran theologians.*

For a number of years, by authorisation of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, a working party of European theologians of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches have been carrying on conversations. After discussing the presuppositions of fruitful conversation between Lutherans and Reformed churchmen in the search for church unity, this group has dealt with the following groups of themes:

- a) The Centre of Scripture (Word of God, Holy Scripture, Proclamation, Confession of Faith and Unity of the Church);
- b) The Presence of Christ;
- c) Baptism.

At the 1960 meeting the question of the Lord's Supper was discussed, with reference to the "Arnoldshain Theses on the Lord's Supper." These Theses are a study document, which in accordance with instructions, a committee of theologians of the Lutheran, Reformed and United Churches produced and submitted in 1958 to the Council and Church Conference of the Evangelical Church in Germany. The Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany decided to publish the



theses with their preamble, for consideration and examination by the church and its congregations.

# I.

Our working party has studied this document with gratitude, and notes that in it a large measure of agreement has been reached. This document can be of great help in instilling fresh life into sacramental preaching in our churches. It also forms a good basis for the further development of a true doctrinal conversation between the churches concerned.

We believe that these theses have not only significance for the present ecclesiastical and theological situation in Germany, but that they will also help the progress of the ecumenical discussion in general. We further believe that conversely this general ecumenical discussion will give fresh impetus to the discussions on the sacrament within the German Evangelical Church, and thus do a genuine service to the ecumenical cause.

In our appreciation of the theses our working party agrees with the following sentences from the "Report of the Theological Committee of the United Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Germany on the Arnoldshain Theses, 11-12 October, 1959":

"It seems to us especially important that here we do not have a mere repristination of the dogmatic discussions between the Confessional Churches of the Reformation, but that there was no evasion of the questions of modern historical research which have been carried on in a particularly intensive and radical manner in Germany since the eighteenth century. As became clear at the very earliest stage of the conversations on the Lord's Supper, modern Biblical research cannot of itself transcend the doctrinal differences of the 16th century, its own representatives diverge too widely from each other in their exegetical conclusions. It is all the more significant as a fact of theological history, that in the production of these theses representatives of modern Biblical research have joined with systematic theologians and church historians in taking a first step beyond their historico-exegetical particular conclusions, producing agreed statements which show a sense of responsibility to the Church. We should be grateful for this promising development in theological study, which produced statements that throw into fresh relief important aspects of the New Testament message,

which remain in the background in the doctrinal formulations of Reformation times, as a result of the different setting of the questions.

Like those formulations the theses begin with Jesus Christ as the giver and the gift in the Lord's Supper; the exalted Lord gives himself in his body and blood with bread and wine to all who come to this feast, to be their own. From this standpoint they throw into visible relief the ecclesiological, ethical, and eschatological reference of the feast; the Lord incorporates in his body the church those who receive his body, and takes them into his service in obedient action. Thus the feast is travellers' food for the journeying people of God, who in its celebration proclaim the death of the Lord 'until he come'."

# II.

In particular we make the following suggestions for the continuation of the conversation:

1. The *introductory question*, to which the theses are an answer, is not formulated in such a way as to guard against misconception. It might be misconstrued to imply that the contemporary ecumenical discussion could be carried on outside the membership of a confessional church. Therefore we suggest the following formulation: "What appears to us to be the decisive content of the witness of Holy Scripture on the subject of the Lord's Supper, when as Christians of the Lutheran, Reformed, and United Churches in the one Apostolic Church we listen to that witness?"

2. We regret that the statement in *Thesis 1*, concerning the Lord's Supper that we celebrate, which is in itself correct, contains no unambiguous reference to the institution of the feast by Jesus Christ in the night in which he was betrayed.

3. We regret that in *Thesis 2* the *proprium* of the Lord's Supper as means of grace is not more exactly defined. As a model in this respect we cite heading 3 of the "Consensus on the Lord's Supper between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (1956)": "Both churches believe that the sacrament, with its material elements, underlines the Incarnation of the Word. Since God has taken on himself the whole being of man, with the exception of sin, his will in and through the sacraments is to adopt and sanctify our whole being as men, in body, soul, and spirit."



4. In *Thesis 33* it seems to us that what happens in the worship of God in the Lord's Supper would be more clearly and completely described if the sentence ran thus; "With prayer, thanksgiving and praise, and with the recital of the words of institution, bread and wine are dedicated to the service of the self-impartment of Christ, and are presented to the congregation to eat and to drink."

5. In our consideration of *Thesis 4* we were not able to agree unanimously as to whether the decisive content of the Lord's Supper was here adequately and sufficiently described.

All the members of our working party agreed that the limitation to general personalistic categories does not do justice to the mystery of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as an event. The specific peculiarity of the gift of Christ in the Lord's Supper must find expression.

In answering the question how this special character was to be more exactly defined, it was not possible to reach any complete agreement. The following formulation was proposed as an expression of it: "The special modality of the *one* gift of Christ in the Lord's Supper consists in the fact that by means of bread and wine we receive and have participation (*koinonia*) in Christ's body which was sacrificed for us and raised by the power of the Father." This formulation, however, does not appear to all to be unambiguous. While some of us understand the special character of the Lord's Supper to be a special mode in which the gift is given, and accordingly lay emphasis on the act of physical eating and drinking as the specific characteristic of the fellowship with the crucified and risen Lord, a fellowship which is given both in the Lord's Supper and in the word of preaching, others believe that they cannot forego the more precise formulation that through eating and drinking Christ himself presents to us his body and his blood.

In this context some held that a reformulation of *Thesis 4* was imperative, since the position affirmed at its beginning did not appear to be developed to its conclusion.

All the members felt that it was desirable that the thought from I Corinthians 10:17 expressed in *Thesis 62* should be mentioned earlier, in *Thesis 4*.

6. Our working party agrees with the repudiations in *Thesis 5* in so far as here warning is given against various misinterpretations of the Lord's Supper, which we find in the life of the church. But with the exception of the first, it cannot accept these repudiated

beliefs as an accurate description of doctrinal traditions defined by Theological Confessions.

7. Our working party is specially grateful for *Theses 6, 7, and 8*, because they express Biblical ideas which have often been neglected in our churches.

Those among us who regretted the lack of reference to the Lord's Supper as *vinculum caritatis* and *sacramentum unitatis* at an earlier point in the theses, welcome its explicit appearance in this context.

End of March 1960

## World Council of Churches

### Youth and Holy Communion Conference at Driebergen, Holland January 11-15, 1960

THERE IS ALWAYS something extremely attractive about ecumenical conferences, because they possess an iridescent quality, somewhat like soap bubbles or synthetic gems. If you are not yet an ecumenical professional, you gladly drive to conferences. What attracts is the prospect of undertaking a long journey, getting to know people from other countries and participating in interesting and fruitful discussions. What lends these conferences their shining glamor is the simple fact that no one knows whether they will explode like soap bubbles, whereby very little of importance is dealt with or whether, through the fusing together of various traditions, individual views and personal experiences something genuine will develop, which can serve as an ornament, or even as an industrial diamond which will fulfil a task somewhere in the machinery of the church.

With such thoughts in mind, I drove to the conference in Driebergen. The invitation had arrived just a short time before, so I hurriedly had to study some ecumenical and other literature concerning the theme, while taking the rest along. This was all in vain, as I was later to discover. Despite an excellent program, it was not easy to gain a precise idea as to the nature and goal of this conference. The only thing that was clear was that it was to deal with problems



affecting youth and that discussions on communion in the usual dogmatic sense were not to be held.

The technical side of the conference was well organized. This was taken care of by the Geneva office and the excellent conference leader. Surprisingly enough, there were even reference persons who were present during most of the conference. Their presence assisted greatly in the discussion. Naturally the usual addresses were also given—by usual I am referring not to their content, which was excellent, but that they are a normal part of such conferences. Isn't it possible to develop a new form of conference whereby all of the material is sent out and studied in advance so that one can assume a general level of preparation on the part of all participants? In this way the study groups could begin on the second day, which would eliminate the constant pressure which already has one worn out by the time the reports of other groups are to be received and discussed. Later on one discovers that one cannot agree to all formulations proffered, some because of the form in which they are presented, some on the basis of their content. Unfortunately I will have to give examples of this later.

For this reason, I was surprised to see how directly fruitful the addresses presented actually were. Many of the theses can be traced directly back to them.

The second difficulty was the "Panel Discussions". A number of the participants were requested to prepare introductory reports which were delivered in a sequence of two or three. Unfortunately, the topics were not always too clearly defined, so that I still do not know today what one can expect to hear under the topic "Liturgical Piety," let alone what I would say about it. Even though the reports were not especially fruitful, they did have this advantage, namely, they served as a means of personal preparation which greatly advanced the discussions in the study groups.

In contrast to this, the scope of the theme and the receptivity of the participants appeared to me to be especially significant. There was a world of difference in the approach of Brother Max Thuriand (Taizé) who defined the Holy Communion almost completely in terms of the typology of the Passover meal, the wanderings in the desert, and the concept of sacrifice, while Dr. Berkhoff (Driebergen) described the sociological framework of our time and drew some very con-

crete consequences from the nature of the meal itself, somewhat in the form of the common meal. Professor Graystone (Bristol), a Methodist, presented an almost Lutheran biblical analysis, while Archimandrite Timiadis (Geneva) stressed again the meaning and necessity of the liturgy. This resulted in a situation already familiar from other conferences, namely, that the boundaries of theological viewpoint do not always coincide with confessional borders. Thus, for example, in theological questions a Swedish Lutheran could often more easily find himself in agreement with an Anglican or a French Reformed, than with a German Lutheran or a Danish Baptist.

The most difficult and the most decisive point of the conference would seem to lie precisely in the question of theological backgrounds and bases. Here both participants and readers will hold different opinions. The participants accepted without discussion the statement advanced at the beginning that the Driebergen meeting was not to be a conference on Faith and Order, but a working session of the youth department. We participated in a movement which did not engage in discussions of dogma, and which consequently did not stress the differences as much as it sought common agreement on points of general practice, first of all within one's own church, and then, since the symptoms are hopelessly similar, within the various churches. Can there be a fruitful discussion of the Holy Communion when the participants do not represent the same viewpoint? This question can only be answered with a yes when attention is focused on the pastoral work of the churches. This was really the purpose of the conference. Geneva proceeded on the very accurate assumption that a great need exists in all the churches in regard to Holy Communion both in theory and practice, particularly among the youth. We purposely sidestepped doctrinal questions which is certainly a dangerous undertaking, because it emphasizes the practice of the communion before it is fully understood. But this decision was necessary in order to avoid getting bogged down in theoretical problems. The resulting theses are to be understood in this sense and for this reason they are preceded by "pre-ambles."

Despite this, Part I of the theses contains theological statements. Many of the formulations are not new; some are ambiguous, and some are weak. This, however, is not the



important thing, for we are not concerned here with interconfessional or with consensus theology, but we want to provide a point of departure for the questions following each thesis. A typical example is thesis I, 6: "This Sacrament enables us to share in the sacrifice of Christ for the whole world." This formulation arose out of a Bible study and its point of reference is the lecture by Brother Max. It consists of a compromise formula which serves mainly to raise the question concerning the sacrificial character of the Holy Communion. It points to the gulf between the sacrifice of Christ and our sacrifice. Indeed, to be perfectly logical, question (a) should raise the question of our sacrifice (singular!) in the light of Romans 12:1.

An example such as this makes clear that the "Driebergen theses," because of their very practical intentions, cannot be compared to the Arnoldshain theses.

The theses which have thus already been introduced are the work of study groups. They were first proposed by a small commission and were then discussed, changed, thrown out, and amplified by new sentences. Finally the questions were added, questions arising out of the experience of the participants, who are all active in some way or other in the youth work of the church. The revised results were then presented to the full assembly where further additions and corrections were made. The final version was the responsibility of a committee of three men after the conclusion of the conference. Actually, however, the final version should by rights have been presented to the full assembly for its final approval after the heat of the first discussion had died down. Unfortunately, the theme of the conference made it necessary to emphasize the "youth" element occasionally, but this usage, wherever it occurs, should not be seen as the presumption of wise older ones; it was merely an attempt to specify the people to whom the speeches were addressed, an attempt which was not always successful.

There are a few other weak points which should be brought to the attention of the readers so that the critique of possible reviewers does not get stuck in side issues. I cannot declare myself in agreement with the formulation of thesis I:10: "The Holy Communion is the thanksgiving for the victory of Christ over sin, death and the forces of evil, and the means whereby we participate in the fruits of that victory." The first sentence is theolog-

ically questionable, besides it does not logically coincide with the second, unless it is supposed to be understood that the congregation brings its thanksgiving to God in the Holy Communion. The logic of the following theses is also not too clear: I, 3. Can a fact influence frequency? In I, 10 question a) —"sad and private" are two entirely different things, which cannot without further explanation be combined by the conjunction "and." In I, 11, why is a distinction made between "us" and "the youth"? In II, 1 question b) —what is the "reality of the Christian hope" which is anticipated? Had there been more time, such ambiguities could have been cleared up by a careful discussion in the full assembly.

I cannot here provide a commentary on each of the theses, though such is necessary. But that is the reader's task. With him rests the answer to the question which was raised at the beginning whether this conference has resulted in another soap bubble or a synthetic jewel (please forgive the stilted analogy). The theses were not intended merely to swell the mass of theological literature which already exists. Instead their true value will only be realized when they become the basis for discussion in youth groups and student congregations, for example, at retreats and in study groups. My own experience testifies that the question of Holy Communion is an acute one. It does not take much to set the ball rolling. This was the motivation for the Driebergen conference. In any such treatment, the question must always be decided whether the discussion should proceed along dogmatic lines or along practical pastoral counseling lines. It would be good if these theses could do more than merely serve as an initial impetus but if they should also prove capable of providing a few answers.

The full text of the theses follows:

### Section I—Fundamental convictions

Our ecumenical encounter has illuminated for us certain aspects of the Eucharistic doctrines and practices of our churches. Although there exist points of disagreement between the churches, on fundamental issues we agree. Without attempting to present a full doctrine of the Eucharist or even of the points on which we are all agreed, we set out below some points which seem to us to be specially important for the pastoral work of our churches among the young people of this



generation. For the cause of the ecumenical movement and for the instruction of our youth, we must remind them of this existing unity in regard to the Eucharist.

1. Holy Communion was instituted by Christ for the continuing life and mission of His Church in all generations.

#### Question

Having agreed that the Sacrament is essential within the life of our churches, how is this conviction expressed in the Sunday School curricula, in the preparation for Confirmation or full membership, in the preaching, in the frequency of the celebration of the Holy Communion, and in the participation of young people in the services of our various churches?

2. In this Sacrament our crucified and risen Lord is really present among us.

#### Questions

(i) This conviction is expressed in many different ways in our churches.

How does this conviction effect our thinking about and relations with congregations of other denominations?

(ii) The real presence of our Lord in this sacrament demands that we receive him worthily.

a) Do we consider that the Holy Communion is given for the sinners and not for the just?

b) Do we examine ourselves before attending the Holy Communion?

c) Do we too easily consider other participants at the Holy Communion unworthy of it?

d) What deeds, experiences or relationships do we have to settle before or after receiving the Holy Communion?

3. In this Sacrament our Lord Jesus Christ comes to meet us, and gives Himself to us.

#### Questions

a) How far does this fact effect the frequency of our receiving Him at the Holy Communion?

b) Is it possible to show to youth what the gift of Holy Communion means when only a small part of the congregation or parish participates when the Eucharist is celebrated? (Luke 15:28; Matthew: 22 1-10)

4. Christ went to men where they were. In the Eucharist He is coming to us.

#### Questions

a) Does the Church seek in her services of worship to meet youth where they are?

b) Does the Church speak and act in a language which youth can understand and repeat?

c) Are the churches prepared to reach out to youth in these ways?

5. This Sacrament sets forth not only His death, but the whole redemptive work of our living Lord. (In the churches' teaching young people learn that the Eucharist is a meal in the remembrance of the death of our Lord. The singular importance of Holy Communion on Good Friday in some countries underlines this emphasis.)

#### Questions

a) Can we not recover in the Eucharist the joyful celebration of the presence of the Kingdom which is to come?

b) How far do the forms of service, the preaching and the hymns used at the Holy Communion in our churches express our joyful response to the whole work of Christ?

c) What enrichment of our understanding have we received by experience of the liturgy of other churches?

6. This Sacrament enables us to share in the sacrifice of Christ for the whole world.

#### Questions

a) What is the relation between Christ's sacrifice and the sacrifices to which we are called? (Romans 12:1)

b) What part does sacrifice have within the life of our congregation—e.g. in relation to deprived people within our community, poverty-stricken peoples in other parts of the world, sister churches who need our help?

c) What part does sacrifice have in our personal life in terms of time, money, concern and prayer for others?

7. This Sacrament is a manifestation of Christian community, and is a sign to the world of the nature of true solidarity.

#### Questions

a) Why is our approach to the Holy Communion so often individualistic?



- b) How could the corporate nature of our participation in the service be made more clear?
- c) Is preparation for the receiving of Holy Communion something only for the Christian individually or must the whole parish or congregation prepare itself for the meeting with the Lord at His Table in order to show itself as the household of God and a manifestation of what the Church is supposed to be?
- d) Is the community of the Table also realised outside the church building?
- e) What is the relation between the community of the Table and other communities in which we participate?
- f) Are there any groups in our neighborhood in fact excluded from the Communion Table for sociological reasons, e.g. class, age, race?

8. The Holy Communion unites us with Christ and therefore with one another.

#### *Questions*

- a) Does there exist in our churches enough regret for the scandal that we cannot receive Holy Communion at one table?
- b) How can we show this regret in the celebration of Holy Communion?

9. This Sacrament is a real meal to be enjoyed in hope by a fellowship of liberated people. It grants us Christ's victory over death and the joy of being delivered from sin and becoming heirs of eternal life.

#### *Questions*

- a) How does the Sacrament, given and received, nourish our bodies, minds and spirits?
- b) What is the hope Christ puts before us, and how does this hope effect the way in which we read the newspapers and talk in the barber's shop?

10. The Holy Communion is the thanksgiving for the victory of Christ over sin, death and the forces of evil, and the means whereby we participate in the fruits of that victory.

#### *Questions*

- a) Why do communicants so often give the impression that Holy Communion is a sad and private matter?

- b) How can we help one another to bear witness more effectively and more joyfully to the fact of Christ's victories?

11. The gift of the Holy Communion is much greater than we can ever understand, explain or learn. Therefore, we may console ourselves and assure young people that the Holy Communion is efficacious even when we do not "feel" its effects.

#### *Question*

Can a careful preparation facilitate the experience of the forgiveness of sins and of the joy of communion?

### **Section II—Barriers to participation**

Looking beyond the fellowship of the worshipping churches, we see that there are also certain facts of the modern situation which constitute barriers to youth's full understanding of and participation in the Eucharist. In saying this we recognise the part played by the churches in raising up certain of these barriers and our responsibility for working to remove them. We believe that the barriers mentioned below are removable and not to be confused with the enduring "scandal" of the Gospel.

1. Hope does not come easily to men and women in our time, young or old. They seek assurance about the future in such things as horoscopes.

#### *Questions*

- a) How to a generation which has no vision of its future can the Eucharist proclaim the coming of the Kingdom in our world?
- b) Why is it that the Holy Communion is not more an expression and a foretaste of the reality of Christian hope?

2. Fear of exploitation and disillusionment makes this generation suspicious of involvement and commitment.

#### *Question*

How can we help them to realise that the Eucharist is a free gift and at the same time a means to their incorporation in the community which is the Body of Christ and that this Body of Christ is a "real presence living, working and serving in the world?"



3. In this time knowledge and experience are commonly gained by visual communication. The Eucharist is the Visible Word.

*Question*

Does the Church use sufficient and imaginative means to make visible the action of the Eucharist?

4. This is an age of technical competence and specialised knowledge.

*Question*

Are pastors and youth workers sufficiently well versed in the skills and accomplishments of society in order to relate the meaning of the Eucharist to the questions and burdens of youth?

5. The secularisation of our time revives the pagan distinction between the sacred and the profane which supports the modern feeling that Christianity and "real life" are something separate.

*Question*

How does the way in which the Church celebrates the Eucharistic meal appear to suggest the separation of the holy and the common, e.g. by not using ordinary, "secular" bread and wine, by liturgical archaism, etc.?

6. We see young people bound by feelings of loneliness and tension. They do not find fellowship and release by participating in the Eucharist.

*Question*

Why do youth not find in this Sacrament the fulfilment of Christ's promise of real communion among those who participate?

7. It is obvious that adults and youth have lost their solidarity.

*Question*

"The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the Body of Christ?—For we being many are one bread and one body?" (I Cor. 10:16 f.)

8. This generation calls itself realistic, sober and objective but at the same time shows in its actions, e.g. the way it seeks entertainment and diversion, that it seeks escape from this kind of life.

*Question*

Is it right that we may promise this generation something extraordinary and ecstatic i.e. that in the celebration of the common meal they are joined with the worship in heaven here and now?

**Appendix—Some points of special consideration for the churches' catechetical work**

1. Eucharistic instruction of youth is very defective in most churches. We found that preparation for sacramental life is neglected in most catechetical handbooks.

2. We found that the time used for instruction and preparation for full membership in the Church is in most churches far too short. Results of this practice may be:

- (i) a lack of understanding of the responsibilities of church membership;
- (ii) false or exaggerated expectations when participating in Holy Communion with consequently painful disappointment;
- (iii) the implication that admission to Holy Communion is easy or cheap.

3. We found that the existence and significance of the ecumenical movement is neglected in most catechetical handbooks and other teaching outlines. This should be corrected, especially under the headings of "Church" and of "Eucharist." What is told to youth of one church about the other churches or confessions should be checked by people from these other Christian bodies. The agreements already reached in ecumenical discussion and stated in reports should be part of the catechetical instruction of youth.

GERHARD MÜNDELEIN



# FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

## Germany

### Authority in Church and State

NO OTHER TOPIC has so lastingly and passionately aroused the theologians and churchmen of Germany during the past few months as the question concerning the proper relationship of the Christian to the state in its modern forms. The mere mention of the word "authority" (*Obrigkeit*) has an electrifying effect upon even the most peaceable conversationalists. For some years now, no religious discussion has been followed by the general public with such avid interest as has this one.

The discussion originated with a congratulatory message sent by Bishop Otto Dibelius of Berlin to Bishop Hanns Lilje of Hannover on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday. Some very original reflections on the topic "authority" were appended to it. To begin with, a question was involved here which has often played a role in theological discussions, namely, whether Luther's translation of Romans 13, in so far as it deals with the concept of authority, is still valid today.

According to Dibelius, authority is an historical concept which presupposes a particular political order. This order is oriented around an authority which is derived from a long tradition and which confronts the individual, as well as the entire nation, as a type of value about which there can be no doubt. The medieval princes and the Prussian kings whose authority was sacrosanct as far as the man on the street was concerned—this is authority in the real sense of the word.

But this type of authority no longer exists, and, to be sure, it has not since the day—as Dibelius says—"when a political order based on parties was established." Political parties and their representatives merely possess a limited authority. Today they come to power, and tomorrow they may already disappear. For this reason, the individual as a rule maintains a critical attitude towards them, with the result "that something essential is plucked out of the concept of authority." The question now remains whether the further use of this concept under entirely changed conditions does not lead to "a false understanding of an important biblical instruction."

Naturally Dibelius is concerned first and foremost with the future of his church within the territorial jurisdiction of East Germany. Were the command to obedience found in Romans 13 to be understood in terms of an unconditional subordination, a capitulation, then the individual Christian and his church would be forced into a position of dangerous dependence upon the state. The bishop is trying to protect his congregations from this. But since the power of the totalitarian state is an established fact about which, in the first instance, the Christian can do nothing, Dibelius raises the question concerning the inner authority of the communist system.

For this he refers to Romans 13, verses 3 and 4. Paul presupposes that "the rulers will reward the good and punish the bad." Under this condition he describes them as "ministers of God for our good." Everything else in this chapter must be seen from this perspective. However, "Paul's word about the state as 'minister of God' and what he means by 'for your good' no longer apply" because the totalitarian state has taken it upon itself to determine what is good and what is bad. Among other things, Dibelius cites a statement by Augustine: "*Remota iustitia quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia?*" Dibelius summarizes his own opinion in this way: "To describe the rulers of a totalitarian regime as 'authority' would be an insult to the German language. To do so is something entirely foreign to Paul's intention in Romans 13, and this is what is important for the theologian." For this reason, the Bishop believes that the limitations of the situations to which Romans 13 applies must already be made clear in the translation. His proposal goes something like this: "Everyone must adapt himself to those orders which have been set by legitimate authority."

When these opinions of Bishop Dibelius were made public, interest was naturally concentrated first of all on the question of the extent to which the Christian is obligated to obey a state to which the statements in Romans 13 are not applicable. Dibelius himself provoked the question. By means of a practical example, he showed that the merely authoritarian state knows no other purpose than the extension and consolidation of its power. Even the most harmless traffic ordinances must be interpreted in the light of



this goal. For this reason, the Christian is concerned neither with an inner moral obligation, nor with a matter of conscience under these conditions.

At this point, the leaders of the Church of Berlin-Brandenburg felt that they owed their congregations an immediate clarification. Therefore, an explanation was issued on October 1, 1959, even before Bishop Dibelius returned from an extended overseas trip, in which it was said among other things that:

Within the Evangelical Church there are various theological interpretations of Romans 13, some of which are highly controversial. Bishop Dibelius drew certain practical consequences from an appraisal of authority based on his own theological interpretation, and these he presented in a very pictorial manner. We cannot accept this evaluation as our own. The obedience to every authority which is demanded of us in Holy Scripture holds true in respect to the existing governments.

Actually, there was no essential difference of opinion between the bishop and the other church leaders on the question of practical obedience to the laws of the state. This was substantiated soon after the bishop's return by a later statement by the executive council in which, disregarding the "objective differences," it was expressly stated that "Bishop Dibelius did not want to incite the citizens to active disobedience." He simply wanted to point out "what basic significance it has for the nature of the state, when the administration of justice rests on specific human programs."

A further clarification of the situation resulted from the radio discussion between Bishop Dibelius, Bishop Lilje and Professor Scheuner, professor of constitutional law at Bonn which was held on October 27, 1959. Dibelius again stressed that the Christian's duty to render obedience was not at all under discussion as far as he was concerned; he was concerned with the question: "what are the motives under which such obedience should be rendered?" A state is a "minister of God" and "a gracious order given by God" only, in his opinion, when it serves a system of justice which has an affinity to the Christian understanding of justice. "Because the state executes that which God commands, it is the minister of God." If this is not the case, as in the totalitarian state, then the state loses its qualifications as a "minister of God." It is therewith "radically and fundamentally demythologized," which means that it is nothing more than a secular complex of power.

The Christian must draw the consequences from this, even though they need not be of an external nature. Externally he maintains an obedience which is based not "on the nature of the state," but which depends solely "on his being a Christian." Dibelius once more advocated giving up the concept "authority" because it places the ruling power in a divinely privileged position which is no longer applicable to it. Authority in our day is no longer something which is necessarily given by God. Besides, it should not be forgotten that "the men who live under a governmental authority are themselves responsible for the kind of authority they have."

\* \* \*

After Bishop Dibelius had gone this far in defining his position, the discussion in its entirety set in throughout Germany. It took up a multitude of questions which followed from the bishop's statements. Some of the most important of these, at least, will be mentioned in order here.

To begin with, there is the question whether Luther's translation of Romans 13, above all of the concept of authority, still does justice to the text today. It is generally admitted that this concept has disappeared from the realm of constitutional law and to a great extent from popular usage. Furthermore, the basic structural changes which our governmental systems have undergone since the French Revolution are also being taken into account. Despite this, it somewhat exceeds the bounds of the general consensus to say with Dolf Sternberger that "the phenomenon of authority no longer exists." Professor Scheuner, for example, is of the opinion that at all times the governing powers show a certain similarity. The only thing which has changed basically is the attitude of the "subjects," the citizens. A politician such as Professor Friedensburg pleads expressly for the continued application of the concept "authority" to the democratic state.

First of all, the theologians almost without exception spoke out against abandoning this concept. Understandably, the representatives of Lutheran theology did so with great determination. In their opinion, we are dealing here with a "basic Christian tenet" as Künneth describes it, namely, with the fact of "*auctoritas*" as an "original divine order"



(Lilje). "Secular authority," writes E. Wilkens, "is translucent in the divine order of things; through it the divine authority behind all human rule can be perceived." We have to do here with a key concept in the Lutheran doctrine of the two realms, the sacred and the secular. For this reason, says Küneth, "we cannot relinquish this concept today." Despite their strong misgivings about an objectivized concept of orders, many theologians of the union churches in Germany have come to the same conclusion.

Only a few individuals have spoken out to the contrary. Thus Käsemann considers the expression authority to be an unfortunate one "because we traditionally, much too easily and too quickly, combine with it the idea of legitimacy." Schomerus brings up for consideration whether the term "government" (*Herrschaft*) could not be used in place of authority. The mere law of the jungle, that the strongest rules, is not the same as "government." "Government lays demands of loyalty and responsibility upon men." According to the *Herder-Korrespondenz*, Catholic translations favor "authoritative power" (*Obrigkeitsliche Gewalt*). Perhaps a discussion with American Lutheranism could lead to further results. But first we must reckon with the fact that the theological discussion in Germany is still directed at the concept of authority.

\* \* \*

In regard to the problem itself, that is, the interpretation of Romans 13, constant reference has been made in the discussion to the fact that what is being dealt with here is not an item of political doctrine, but an exhortation. This exhortation is, however, combined with specific reasons so that the question as to the interpretation of authority which Paul presupposed, and how he arrived at his concrete exhortations, cannot be lightly dismissed.

Among other things, the attempt is made to explain Romans 13 in terms of the historical situation of the first congregation in Rome. Thus on the one hand the question can be raised regarding the impression which the state of that day made upon the Christians. This can be answered in various ways, depending upon whether the conditions in the Roman Empire are judged according to the concept of legality which prevailed at

that time or according to the arbitrary, personal rule of the Caesars which found its culmination in the cult of the emperor. On the other hand, the question can be raised concerning the attitude of the congregation, an attitude which is quite often colored by the eschatological expectations of the early Christians, some of whom were completely indifferent to the demands of the state (taxes and tariffs), while others expressed themselves in zealous fanaticism. In one case the direct eschatological expectations of the apostle himself are cited as responsible for his remarkable submissiveness to the state. All of these attempted explanations are highly controversial. Käsemann is particularly critical of them when he says: "As mere suppositions they are worthless; the historical presuppositions on which they rest are problematical and misleading, these constructions are characteristic of the dilemma of those exegetes who make hypothetical external causes responsible for that which they do not understand about Pauline theology."

The problem now is therefore: from which theological presuppositions can one explain what Paul thinks and says about the secular authority of his time? Here reference to the Old Testament is generally agreed upon. There is here "a tradition based on the Old Testament and Judaistic influences," according to a formulation by Käsemann who, in another place, cites Martin Dibelius: "Because the power of the heathen ruler who strives to maintain order is also derived from God, therefore obedience is demanded and is to be respected."

Accordingly, this "being ordained of God" does not depend upon the position taken by the authority in question. "Even an authority which does not acknowledge God," according to Bishop Lilje, "executes a commission of God, whether it is aware of it or not, and whether it agrees with it or not." Its relationship to God is one of service; and this, as the Synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany stated in its theological declaration of 1956, "is independent of the circumstances under which the governmental power came into being and also independent of its political form."

On the other hand, the discussion on all sides has clearly stressed that there can be no such thing as a religious validation of an existing order. Authority is never a metaphysical value, not even—to use an expression of Regin Prenter—a form of "minor deity."



Lutheran Christians are not the only ones who must as Lilje assures us, "decline to respect the false holiness of earthly values." Even the so-called "Ecumenical Council of the Churches in Czechoslovakia" declared on the basis of I Peter 2:13 that the state is always "a human creation," in regard to which the Christian must remain critical and dispassionate. As such every authority is subject to sin, and "the only thing which gives it its true dignity is its office" (Beckmann). Thus it can be maintained that in so far as Dibelius aimed at a "de-mythologized" understanding of authority, his desire met with full accord, the only qualification being that this is valid not only in terms of the modern state, but for all time.

To be sure, the real decision first occurs at the point of determining what the content of God's commission, which is to be the guiding principle for the activities of the state, is to be. And here it must be stated that the discussion has largely evaded the crucial point. Naturally, it can be maintained that the state has the task of guarding against chaos and of preserving humanity until the day of the Lord, but Paul makes no mention of this. At any rate, according to Romans 13, it is the specific office of authority that it assume a watching and judging function over good and evil in accordance with God's commission. Dibelius has repeatedly drawn attention to this with great emphasis and with full right.

However, we cannot go along with the Bishop to the extent of saying that in a totalitarian state there can be no talk about "right, in the Christian sense of the word," even after allowance has been made for extensive qualifications. Our concepts of morality are very diverse and have changed a great deal throughout the course of history. For this reason, it is an open question just how far our present thoughts on, and perceptions of, what is right constitute a reliable standard for making theological judgments on legal systems which follow a different pattern. If so, one dare not exclude the possibility, Hans Iwand has put his finger on this fact—that even a system of government which does not correspond to our concepts of morality can be or may become a duly constituted state. And we must say that the individual Christian or church cannot expect the right understanding of good and bad from the state as long as he himself is guilty of not having given a clear witness in this matter,

that is, a witness in both word and deed (Albrecht Schönherr).

We will certainly have to reckon with the fact, and no party to the discussion disputes this, that authority, in contradiction to its commission, also punishes precisely those who do good. Furthermore, we dare not give the impression that there is no difference at all between those orders which serve the cause of justice and those which only promote power. Therefore, the words of Iwand must be heeded when he pointedly sums up his opinion: "We must do our utmost to overcome the anarchy of good and evil in our political life, under which justice and the political order can only perish while power and force alone remain as empty principles of order."

But the question whether or not a certain authority still remains in the service of God is one which demands too much of us, not because, as Heinrich Vogel says, it involves a "value-judgment," but because faith-decisions are only comprehensible to faith. Here, however, we would be trying to make a judgment which only God can make.

If we were to try to summarize the results of the discussion, we would have to say that the attempt to interpret Romans 13 in the sense of a conditional understanding of authority did not meet with full agreement. What Paul says here about authority and the Christian's relationship to it does not depend on a particular historical or political situation. Neither does it depend upon the acknowledgement or fulfillment of certain conditions, whether they be theological or pertaining to natural law. The validity of Romans 13 cannot on principle be qualified.

\* \* \*

In this light the question concerning the nature of the obedience which is demanded in Romans 13 wins increased significance. In many essays this question was completely overlooked.

Hardly anywhere was attention drawn to the fact that the demand that Christians "be subordinate" runs through all of the exhortations in the New Testament. The apostle demands no more of Christians in regard to authority than that which he has a right to expect of them in their communal life as such. Above all, however,—and this is mentioned every so often—this "be subordinate" is valid only in terms of the presupposed



corollary "in Christ," whether it be explicit or implicit. We must obey governmental orders for the sake of the Lord and not for the sake of men. Therefore, the motivation behind obedience can be derived neither from a particular type of relationship to the state, nor from one's obligations to his fellowmen or the necessities of his own life. Obedience to authority stands or falls with faith in the Lord, who himself is the only authority which all secular authorities are bound to obey.

On the other hand, the freedom of the Christian, and naturally also his freedom over against authority, is based on and guaranteed by his dependence upon the Lord. Bishop Dibelius has laid great stress on this. No one can take this freedom from us. We ourselves cannot purchase it. To this extent, as Ernst Wolf has maintained, it is in actual fact unimportant for my Christian obedience whether my relationship to authority is marked by an inner sympathy or by an attitude of critical detachment. The obedience which I owe remains essentially the same, because it always derives from faith alone.

The engagement of conscience also derives from one's attachment to the Lord. A purely formal act of obedience, perhaps out of fear of possible punishment, would fail to recognize that the Christian is everywhere and at all times in this world dealing with God who makes demands of the total person. On the other hand, it is naturally right that the conscience be exclusively bound to God. Every acknowledgement of some other relationship would contradict the first commandment. Furthermore, obedience dare not be separated from conscience because it discovers its necessary limitations through the conscience.

The above-mentioned discussion has, to be sure, presupposed all of this as self-understood. It has only dealt sporadically with the question concerning the material principles involved in the obedience which is due authority (it must be mentioned here that Beckmann has stressed three things, namely, intercessory prayer, the duty to witness and political service) but the discussion generally did make clear that Paul was addressing himself not so much to the authorities as such but to the Christians when he talked about good and evil in Romans 13. This means that according to Romans 13 there can be no obedience to authority independent of the question of good and evil. Quite obviously the main intention of the text is to encourage

the Christians to do good and to refrain from evil in the public domain which lies under the control of secular authorities. When the authorities, in keeping with their commission from God, reward or punish for his sake, it is a help. But the injunction is nevertheless valid even when the authorities conduct themselves differently. This is not directly evident from the text, because this situation is not cited as such, but it ought nevertheless to be self-evident.

At any rate, here the question arises, "How is a Christian to conduct himself in conflicting circumstances?" It is characteristic of our present situation that this question which is certainly only a borderline problem in Romans 13 has been expressed with great exactness, and at times with great thoroughness, up and down the line. The following three problems have evoked the most interest. Where are the limits to the obedience which the Christian owes the secular authority to be found? What principles are valid for his conduct once these limits have been reached? Does the Christian have the right to oppose the state, and perhaps even the duty to do so?

In the question concerning the limits of obedience, frequent reference is made to the formula in C.A. XVI, that obedience is commanded as long as it is possible "without sin." When a secular authority transcends the bounds which have been set for it and prevails upon the Christian to disobey the commands of God, then "disobedience to the secular authority is our unequivocal duty" (Niemöller). According to the traditional view, the decision lies with the individual conscience which the Christian, to be sure, must often feel is taxed beyond its abilities by the unintelligible expanse of the modern political order. Bishop Lilje has pointed out, for example, that the individual who pays his taxes cannot, even with the best will in the world, fully estimate both the good and bad purposes for which his money is being used. This is especially true of those states which make the most ordinary things a question of conscience. If in our present-day situation we must continually reckon with complicated decisions of this type, then the question concerning the limits of obedience cannot be shoved onto the individual conscience alone. Here the church has a responsibility which it must assume. That it has been aware of this fact for some time now is evidenced at every synod meeting,



although one occasionally gets the impression that the pastoral and teaching ministries which are involved here are somewhat stunted in comparison to the ministry of guarding the faith. This makes it all the more surprising that this question has been almost completely neglected in the current discussion.

How is the Christian to conduct himself when the limits of obedience have been reached? Here it must be remembered, as most of the statements have stressed to a greater or lesser degree, that even an unjust, even a perverted secular authority to some extent fulfills the function of preserving order which the Christian must respect. "No secular authority," writes Martin Fischer, "can continue to work and to rule if it basically invalidates the second tablet of the Ten Commandments." For this reason the command for obedience is never completely invalidated even though the realm in which it is valid is greatly limited under certain conditions.

Beyond this, the Christian will still have to be governed by the frequently cited golden rule in Acts 5:29: "We ought to obey God rather than men!" The demands of the state must be opposed when the state attempts to limit or to suppress the proclamation of the gospel. As witness, the Christian is not subject to the secular authority. "As witness he is directly and only subject to Jesus Christ" (Beckmann). Christians will also have to oppose the state if it tries in other ways to pressure them from following Christ.

Generally, this opposition takes the form of simply continuing to seek and to do that which is good in the eyes of God regardless of the possible consequences. Christians are obliged to do, according to Martin Fischer, "all that the secular authority has the right to demand." Fischer deals in particular with the idea that even opposition could be and should be a form of service which I owe to the secular authority. This idea played an important role at the Synod of the Evangelical Church of the Union in 1957. The Christian must try to understand better and to respect the commission of authority, its "function," as Fischer calls it, than the secular authority itself does in cases of conflict. Naturally, opposition is not even conceivable if intercessory prayer does not occupy a central place in any such a spiritual struggle with the secular authority.

The way which is outlined here is normally that of suffering; about this there can be no

dispute in the church of Jesus Christ. The question still remains, and for the moment there is no general agreement on it, whether there are not situations in which the Christian not only dare, but perhaps even must, consider active opposition against the secular authority among his plans. "The 'church' as an institution," Thieliicke rightly remarks, "is not authorized to engage in any form of political opposition." She would be usurping a function which does not belong to her. But how far dare the individual Christian go?

There are two conflicting views: E. Wilkens maintains that the "call to disobedience on principle against any particular form of state is not a Christian alternative." In his opinion "a fundamental right to oppose and to overthrow the government cannot be a presupposed element in the concept of secular authority." Beckmann, however, very definitely defends the view that "the possibility of active, revolutionary opposition" must be included "when we consider the position of the Christian as a citizen under a secular authority." According to him, the decision occurs in prayer. In contrast to Martin Fischer, who sees intercessory prayer as the only alternative even in extreme situations, Beckmann holds that the Christian has this legitimate alternative in prayer: "Free us from this secular authority!" From this he draws the following conclusion: "If the Christian feels that he must pray thus, then he is doing something which obligates him to work toward removing the secular authority from office." Such a situation would be one in which, to cite a frequently quoted example which Bishop Berggrav borrowed from Luther, "the driver is drunk."

However, the Christian must always beware lest he prepare the way for anarchy. This is the quintessence of Romans 13 according to Beckmann, at least in so far as Paul's advocacy of obedience is concerned, "the Christian dare not be an anarchist." Thieliicke summarizes his position thus: "The Christian cannot be allowed to engage in revolutionary opposition merely for the negative purpose of over-throwing the existing system, for the mere negation would lead to a situation devoid of authority and would break down the wall which guards against chaos, namely, the state itself." The decision to oppose always presupposes "that what is done to the authority is done for the sake of authority" (Lilje).



This was the situation, as far as the literary contributions to the discussion are concerned, when the provincial synod of Berlin-Brandenburg met for its annual session on January 24, 1960. Bishop Dibelius dealt extensively in his annual report with the question of authority which he described as the "off-the-record main topic" of the synod. First of all, he sought to explain the circumstances which led him to the position he took; and on the other hand to clarify the basis for Christian obedience in the light of the changed circumstances.

Once more Bishop Dibelius stressed that the decision must be taken at that point where the state assumes an authoritative judgment over good and evil, that is, where law becomes merely a power-function. Such a state "cannot be included under the injunctions in Romans 13." Here he took as his precedent a statement which Karl Barth made in 1938 in an address in *The Church and the Present-day Political Question* that a "dictatorship in principle" can no longer be regarded as "divinely established" and thus cannot be understood "as authority in the sense of Romans 13." "If it is such in individual relationships and functions despite not meaning to be,.... then this is an unintended testimony to God's providence, but it is not characteristic of that which a dictatorship wants and is."

The type of obedience which the Christian must render under these circumstances is then developed by the bishop in terms of the paradox in Luther's writing *On the Freedom of the Christian*: "A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all." For the sake of love he must subject himself to the human society in which God has placed him.

By majority vote, the synod expressed its gratitude to its bishop for this statement, especially the last section. And when the bishop, in an attempt to eliminate any misunderstanding, surrendered the comparison between western and eastern traffic ordinances which he had intended merely as an illustration in his letter to Bishop Lilje, calling to the synod, "Throw it in the river!", the way was cleared, as far as most of the delegates were concerned, for further cooperation on the problem which had been raised. It was the decision of the synod that this work be carried out within a newly-established permanent theological commission.

This reconciliation, however, did not prevent Heinrich Vogel from presenting a declaration on the last evening on behalf of himself and his theological friends, in which he cited again the interpretation given at the 1956 Synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany in opposition to the position and attitude which the bishop had taken in his letter on authority. Vogel went on to say:

We have understood and still understand these statements to mean that Romans 13 applies as well to the government in the western part of our fatherland as to that in the eastern part. We pray all members of the church to act out of an obedient faith in love, giving to the state that which is due the state, and to God that which is due God.

There were basically two objections raised by the synod delegates to this statement, which was intended as a motion before the synod. The first was directed against the fact that the proposal in the form submitted appeared to be a vote of no confidence against Bishop Dibelius. The majority vote of the synod showed that this could not be the case. Secondly, the interpretation which Heinrich Vogel gave of the theological declaration of 1956 gave the impression that the differences between the governmental systems in East and West are in the last analysis inconsequential, while during the discussion Bishop Dibelius specifically stressed the fact that the Evangelical Church cannot regard every authority as equivalent, every law equal to every other law, every state equal to every other state. The synod was of the opinion that it would not do justice to its responsibility if it were silently to overlook the oppression under which the congregations and the individual Christians in the eastern half of Germany stand for the sake of such an ambiguous compromise statement.

Despite this, the motion by Vogel was again revived when the Synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany met at the same place in Berlin four weeks later. This time it was Gollwitzer who advanced and supported a motion which was almost word for word the same as Vogel's. But this synod likewise felt that the existing differences of opinion concerning the interpretation of Romans 13 did not warrant their censure of the president of their council, and it was just as unwilling to make a statement about the existing German governments merely on the basis of what Paul says in Romans 13.



The Synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany went beyond the agreement reached by the Synod of Berlin-Brandenburg by re-emphasizing two pertinent statements from the theological declaration of 1956:

In the gospel view the state is part of the gracious order of God which has validity for us independent of the circumstances under which the governmental power came into being and also independent of its political form. The gospel frees us to reject in faith every totalitarian claim made by human power, to defend those who have been victimized and deprived of their rights by totalitarian systems, and to suffer rather than to obey laws and orders which are contrary to God.

The unanimously accepted final motion read:

Just as before the synod acknowledges this declaration as a scripturally valid answer to the question concerning the position of the Christian in respect to the state, whichever state it may be. It calls all congregations and their members out of obedient faith and in the love of Christ to give to the state that which is due the state, and to God that which is due God. She calls for prayer on behalf of those who govern and those who are governed, so that all may be governed by the word of God.

Beyond this, the council of the EKID is challenged to continue the work already begun on the relationship of the Christian to the power of the state, particularly in terms of the dissimilar situation in the two parts of Germany. The questions raised by Bishop Dibelius should also receive further clarification.

\* \* \*

This is how the situation stands. It is hoped and expected that further discussions of this whole complex of questions will be transferred from the realm of public debate with its political and ecclesiastical accents to the forum of basic theological discussion. It is quite obvious that the discussion cannot simply set in where the former controversies have left off. Despite this, however, the way may have been prepared for agreement on individual points.

It bears to be repeated that the time seems not yet ripe for a final decision on the question whether Luther's concept of authority can be replaced by another term. Bishop Dibelius himself, in his report to the Synod of the EKID clearly stated that terminology is not the important thing here. First of all, a theological judgment will have to be rendered concerning the text as a whole, before anything fruitful can be said about the con-

cepts used in translation. Finally, it will also be necessary to ask whether the problem of authority, as far as the language problem involved is concerned, is not identical to the whole problem of the Luther text today.

As far as the realm of theological questions is concerned, the actual problem, disregarding individual exegetical problems for the moment, lies less in determining the foundation for the obedience which Paul demands than in seeing its limits and further application. This means that Romans 13 is not sufficient basis for a discussion of the existence of the Christian in the modern state.

This is true in two directions: first of all, what it says about authority is insufficient. Authority rests on a divine commission which the state cannot nullify by its own efforts. And yet, on the other hand, it is continually subject to the temptation to misuse the power which has been given it, and to declare itself absolute. The Christian's duty to render obedience is not thereby obliterated. Its theological basis is still valid, although the obedience is then limited.

In modern states, these limitations are as a rule constitutionally established. The Christian of today is no longer dealing only with a vertical hierarchical authority, but he must at the same time deal with the problem of the sharing of power. Secular authority has thus become a very complex value. The preaching and teaching of the church must take this fact into consideration. For the governmental authority of a modern political system cannot be served with just any kind of obedience.

On the other hand, the exhortations in Romans 13 must be supplemented by the mature participation of Christians in the functions of the secular authority. Recently Friedrich Spiegel-Schmidt reminded us how seldom Protestant theology in Germany has concerned itself with the problems which have arisen with the French Revolution, for example, the question of the sovereignty of the people. Is the sovereignty of the people, and along with this, the political responsibility of the individual citizen theologically legitimate? And in this case, is it (the sovereignty) dependent upon the extent to which the prevailing governmental system allows its exercise, or does this sovereignty not constitute an inalienable right which, however, must be exercised even before a totalitarian state has degenerated into an ideological system?



At any rate, the conservative position which many find in Romans 13 certainly cannot be accepted as the only norm for determining the role of the Christian in questions of governmental and political life, even when the eschatological background of this Pauline exhortation is taken into consideration. The editor of the *Lutheran World* has rightly raised the question whether the task of the Christian can be fulfilled by merely maintaining the status quo. As a citizen with a sense of responsibility the Christian will also have to take an active part at those places in our world where things are due for a change. These are, however, without exception questions which cannot be directly connected with the interpretation of Romans 13.

From all of this it should be evident that the strong and disturbing impetus which Bishop Dibelius has given our thinking is both legitimate and good, even though we may not always concur in his theological interpretation of Romans 13. He himself reminded the Synod of the EKD that there have been other questions in the church of our day in which the church had "to maintain freedom of conscience over-against certain clear statements of the Holy Scriptures." If one values his position in the sense of an attempt to move forward, then one will in the last analysis be grateful for the courage and boldness of his concern in raising the question. We are concerned here with nothing less than the question which is introduced in Romans 12 and thematically continued in Romans 13, the question concerning the perfect will of God.

PETER KRASKE

## **An Ecumenical Action: "Bread for the World"**

### **1. History**

THE ACTION "BREAD FOR THE WORLD," which was begun among Protestant Christians at Christmas, 1959, has a long history. Again and again, in many different ways, the WCC and the LWF reported on the great need existing in the lands under development. Since the secular press, almost in a "conspiracy of silence," reported little or nothing about hunger and suffering throughout the world, the reports brought by church sources on the misery existing in many places

were only able to make an impact very slowly. In Germany a sense of appreciation for the world-wide task of Christianity had to be re-awakened. The more an ecumenical concern began to take hold among individual persons and groups in Germany, the greater became the readiness to share in ecumenical aid programs. Thus during the last ten years it was gradually possible to awaken an understanding within the Lutheran Church which extended the concern of the individual Christian beyond the situation in his own parish or territorial church. An understanding of the World Service program of the World Council of Churches was also being prepared among those territorial churches in the Evangelical Church in Germany which do not belong to the LWF. In an ever-increasing number, reports were given and speeches were made about the situation of need in the minority churches and in the younger churches in Asia and Africa. In former decades only those circles especially interested in missions were receptive to a world-wide view, but now the basis of concern for the world problems of Christianity was widened. In this connection the first collections for aid to specified areas of the world took place within recent years. 2½ million German marks had already been collected for such purposes in 1959 without any particular publicity drives, and had been forwarded to the WCC and the LWF.

As more and more became known about hunger and suffering in the world, the readiness to make a sacrifice for their alleviation was strengthened. The *Aktionsgemeinschaft für den Hungernden*, which President Kreyssig had founded a number of years ago and which tied into the interest in the congregations, accomplished a great deal worthy of notice, aside from that accomplished by the usual church channels. Since, however, the *Aktionsgemeinschaft für den Hungernden* was not a confessional or church organization, that is, it included Catholics and Jewish groups as well, the thought grew that something of an ecumenical nature should be done through the church itself. This idea was given added impetus by the Catholic program of fasting in 1959, which was a considerable success. Thus various Protestant leaders in the diaconal work of Germany, among them the ecumenical adviser in diaconal work, the superintendent of the Innere Mission und Hilfswerk in Berlin, Dr. Berg, proposed to the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany that a special



action be undertaken among the Protestant Christians of Germany. In July, 1959, the council decided to challenge the Protestant Christians in Germany to undertake such an endeavor. Two things were significant about this: first, this action was to take place in both East and West Germany, and secondly, the Protestant free churches were to be invited to participate. Thus it was finally possible to prepare all Protestant Christians in Germany for this project. What is particularly significant is that for the first time the ecumenical character of the church was publicly evidenced through mutual cooperation transcending all confessional lines. It was decided to initiate the action "Bread for the World" during the Advent and Christmas seasons of 1959. The mutual call was as follows:

#### Bread for the World

A Call to the Protestant Christians of Germany  
People Hunger for Bread

Of the 2.85 billion inhabitants of the earth, 56% are insufficiently nourished. 20%—that is, about 575 million people—live on the edge of starvation. Many millions more die yearly as the result of the scarcity of food. Only 24% of the earth's inhabitants—and these are mainly members of the white race—have sufficient to eat. No one in our country can be indifferent to these facts. Whoever tries to ignore them does wrong.

Our generation in Germany knows what it means to be hungry. We can still see the pictures of the years immediately following the war; some can recall their own bitter experiences. But God has been merciful to us. We have received a great deal of help from other peoples, and particularly from other churches. This enabled us to earn our own daily bread again, and in many cases very amply. In the eyes of the world Germany is again a prosperous country. If one compares our standard of living to that of many of the other countries, particularly Asia, Africa and South America, one sees that this judgment is justified.

Therefore we are calling the Protestant Christians of our land to make a special offering of thanksgiving. We dare not pass by the millions who are in need of bread with blind eyes and hardened hearts. We must help as we are able!

It is good and necessary to raise the question of the causes behind this great need which spans the world, in order to be able to measure its importance. Thereby we realize with horror

again and again the guilt for the past which lies on the shoulders of the white race. It is precisely this which lays a heavy sense of responsibility upon us for the hungry and homeless men of today and of tomorrow. In their service to their fellowmen, Protestant Christians should let no one put them to shame.

This is our call to the congregations of our churches in East and West: in the weeks during Advent and Christmas, in the days of expectation and joy over the coming of the Son of God, set aside a plentiful offering, so that men may experience help and healing in many places, where the need is great. Let us multiply the efforts which we have already begun. Do it for the sake of him whom God has sent to be the bread of life in our world and through whose love alone we too shall be provided for in eternity.

We are certain that many of our members have been waiting impatiently for this opportunity: Stir up and out-do one another in doing good works and in zeal for this service which will procure "Bread for the World"! Be creative! This is no small matter. Sacrifice a favorite desire. If you are planning to buy a new coat, think it over whether the old one might not do for another year and donate the money saved. If you are planning some new household furnishings, think of the hungry children of Asia. If you are planning to purchase Christmas gifts for your family, share the amount so that a famished person can be included. Can we celebrate the birthday of our Lord and Savior by accumulating luxuries and an over-abundance of pleasures while millions of people in other parts of the world have scarcely a handful of rice to eat? God preserve us from closing our eyes or remaining indifferent to the immeasurable need of mankind!

The diaconal agencies of our church have been asked to conduct this special collection so that through its experience in such things your gifts may be quickly and efficiently distributed. The leaders of the territorial churches and the free churches will call upon you. Do not ignore this call in satiety and security. God needs your help on behalf of your fellowmen. Let us not pray the Lord's Prayer thoughtlessly:

*Give us this day our daily bread!*

## 2. Motives

The primary motive for this world-wide help was the love for one's "distant neighbor."



For the Christian the love for one's neighbor, alongside of love for God, is the great commandment which Christ himself has always stressed as such. Love for God and love for one's neighbor, faith and life, cannot be separated from one another. Certainly, there is still a great deal of hidden poverty and need in Germany despite the "economic miracle." But when a Christian hears of such suffering in the world as actually exists in many lands, then the distant brother draws closer to him and becomes his neighbor. Even though the Christian knows that the state is cooperating in the alleviation of world need in conjunction with large international organizations and with the United Nations, still the service of love which the individual Christian renders is something quite apart from this. He should want to help the suffering, the hungry and the sick without any strings attached. His interests are not combined with economic, and perhaps even with political interests. Christian love desires to help wherever there is need, and is a symbol of love as the Lord intended it to be.

The second motive for the execution of this ecumenical action was *gratitude* for the ecumenical help which has been received. After the terrible end of World War II in 1945 the need of the refugees, the exiles, the evacuated, the injured and those returning home was so great that we could not have come to terms with it without the Christian love which flowed to us from all over the world. This is the result of genuine love—that it kindles love in turn. Thus the love which we have received must be transformed into love for our neighbors.

A third motive found frequent expression during the planning for this action "Bread for the World." The sacrifice for "the distant neighbor" was viewed by all those interested in the spiritual development of our nation as a necessity required *for our own sakes*. Above all in the Federal Republic, whose standard of living has risen surprisingly in the last few years, there is a danger of self-satisfaction and an ever growing craving for a higher standard of living which must be taken seriously. It was felt that this dangerous inner temptation must be countered by the necessity of sacrifice and asceticism for educational and pastoral reasons. Above all, it was necessary at this point to arouse the interest of our youth, who should learn to concern themselves with more than their own desires. This ecumenical action was intended

also as a means towards a more healthy attitude toward life. Many of us have had to agree how very much we need to learn to make sacrifices for the sake of our own spiritual health. What is involved here is an important spiritual motivation.

### 3. Collection Methods and Offering

The preparations for this ecumenical action began with an introductory conference in Berlin on September 23, 1959, which was attended by representatives of all of the territorial churches and the free churches. The individual aspects of the technique to be used were thoroughly discussed there. In order to explain the need a pamphlet running to almost 4 million copies was distributed in all of the congregations. A brochure entitled *Bread for the World* provided more detailed information for pastors and their colleagues. Through text and pictures a mass of material was presented in this 30 page brochure which ran to about 100,000 copies. It included preaching and teaching aids. A poster displayed in all churches and parish halls announced the approaching action. It was surprising how much interest and readiness was generated by the use of this material in many groups within the congregations. On the whole, not too much had been known about the disturbing existence of such hunger and suffering. The various bishops and church presidents issued a call to their constituencies. The execution of the action took diverse forms. In some congregations, faithful Christians committed themselves to the sacrifice of various niceties in the way of food and pleasure as a sign of their love. In other cases offering boxes were distributed in the congregations, in which the Christian family together placed its offerings over a period of weeks, bringing it to the Christmas services as a thank-offering. In the main, the action concentrated on the offering given in the worship services. A public street or door-to-door collection was purposely not proposed, because even in the mass publicity special value was laid upon the free personal decision of the individual in making his offering. In the weeks preceding Christmas the church press emphasized that one must think of the need and suffering in the world at this time of exchanging Christmas gifts. This challenge was understood and taken seriously by many. It was a gripping experience to see how in many cases the offering brought was of an extraordinary nature.



It became clear immediately that this was not a one-time action of a temporary nature. Many church members said: if there is such a great need in many parts of Asia and Africa, then our contribution is merely a drop of water in the ocean, and it will not be sufficient if we give something once, but we must obligate ourselves to a continual sacrifice. Thus in many individual instances a new willingness for regular giving developed. When, for example, a refugee woman wrote to us that in the face of such great need she could only spare 20 German marks from her monthly pension, this was no isolated occurrence. A sense of understanding for the necessity to pledge oneself to make a monthly offering grew in many circles, particularly among the youth. We are working now at promoting this increasing development, and in the light of this readiness of Christian love to help on a world-wide scale, we are raising the serious spiritual question of the stewardship of money.

#### 4. Results

At the Synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany which met at Berlin from February 21 to 26, 1960, a report on the conduct and results of the action "Bread for the World" was given by Superintendent Riedel of Munich, the president of the Diaconal Council of the EKID. At that time it was possible to announce the incomplete returns of 14½ million marks. The significance of the fact that nearly 4 million East German marks were collected in the churches of East Germany can only be measured by someone who is acquainted with the difficult situation of that church, which in many things has to struggle for its bare existence. It was also reported that many of the *Landeskirchen* could not initiate their programs until sometime later so that the results would be greatly increased. Just one month later an additional 3 million marks was collected, and undoubtedly the final sum will be still larger.

The synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany passed the following resolution on February 26, 1960, in Spandau, Berlin:

The Synod of the EKID is grateful to the congregations of East and West, that they answered the call of the Council of the

EKID to a comprehensive aid action under the slogan "Bread for the World" with joy and, not infrequently, by making a real sacrifice.

This is the first time in Germany that an aid program for the needy in other parts of the world has been carried out in which not only the member churches of the EKID, but also all other Protestant churches and societies participated in a spirit of true brotherhood.

Hunger, undernourishment and the illnesses which derive therefrom can only be conquered through the combined efforts of all peoples, including those most hard hit by them. As Christians we are called upon to give a tangible and helpful witness. What we have done up till now is only a beginning. We dare not rest content in the face of the world's need.

A great deal of criticism has been expressed over the fact that the results were not more impressive. This critique is justified when one thinks of the many people who, despite the information given, remained indifferent to the needs of their "distant neighbors." The critique is furthermore justified when one thinks of the many people who gave very little, without a trace of it being a sacrifice on their part. The critique is not justified, however, when one thinks of the numerous individuals who gave to the extent of their abilities and who were willing to make great sacrifices. In a folk church, such as we have in the territorial churches of Germany, the number who enter wholeheartedly into such an action is always small. But a particularly positive sign was the fact that beyond the inner circle many who normally remain indifferent, on the sidelines, were caught up in a readiness to help. The best results, outside of the returns in some of the free churches, were manifested in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Bavaria, where the giving amounted to one German mark per person, in proportion to the Protestant population.

The fears of many that the regular monthly collections conducted in the churches for works of charity and missions would suffer a recession were not realized. The fact that we in Germany have a great concern not only for our "distant neighbors" but also for our brothers and sisters in East Germany is self-understood and must be taken into consideration by the ecumenical world.



## 5. Distribution

The council of the EKID in collaboration with the free churches established a special committee in order to investigate the possibilities for aid and to supervise the distribution of the funds collected in the action "Bread for the World." This committee, which is directed by the President of the Diaconal Council of the EKID, works closely together with the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. On the 12-man board are representatives of the territorial churches of both West and East Germany, representatives of the Germany Missions Council and the Foreign Office. The World Service department of the LWF is also represented by the president of the German National Committee.

The basic principles which were set up to govern the distribution may be divided into three categories:

- a) direct attack on hunger through food-distribution;
- b) medical assistance;
- c) constructive diaconate, that is, aid toward self-assistance.

Great care has been exercised so that the funds are in no way aligned with political purposes. Help should be given wherever genuine need exists. It is also not required that the recipients of aid be Christians, nor does the reception of such aid obligate anyone to make a specific religious decision. In this sense, Christian love is manifested completely without self-interest.

That this kind of aid dare be understood as a sign of Christian love rests on the fact that Jesus himself in the New Testament performed many acts of love by giving help. Since it is very difficult to arrange for a responsible administration and distribution of the funds in Asia and Africa, the younger churches, in connection with the mission societies, have been made responsible for guaranteeing the proper distribution. Through their world-wide agencies, the WCC and the LWF are also helping to see that the collected offerings reach the right places and provide the best results. Alongside of these external guarantees of proper distribution and administration stands the very important aspect which can only find its expression in prayer, that God will

direct the money and the offerings along their way so that love will be granted to a world in need of love.

HEINRICH RIEDEL

## USA

### The Lutheran Society for Worship, Music and the Arts

NEWSPAPERS READERS in Southern Ohio during the second week of February, 1960, encountered a series of news-items which typified a pattern rapidly taking shape all over the United States: "Original Church Bulletin Designs Exhibit at First Lutheran" (Springfield); "Month-long Arts for Religion Festival Planned for St. John's Lutheran" (Springfield); "Arts in Worship Festival at First Lutheran" (Dayton); "Choral Clinic Held at First Lutheran" (Cincinnati); "Local Congregation Sponsors Original Hymn Competition" (Springfield); "Altars at Easter, program planned for Channel 7, WHIO" (Dayton); "Religious Drama Presented at Inter-faith Rally" (Dayton). Participating in each of these events as co-sponsor, consultant, resource, exhibitor, or adjudicator was the most exciting new organization in American Protestantism: The Lutheran Society for Worship, Music, and the Arts.

The Lutheran Society for Worship, Music, and the Arts is an organization which is dedicated to the promotion of the highest expression of the worship of God. Since the inception of the society in 1957, membership has spread into 33 states, Canada, Europe, Japan, Taiwan, and South America. This membership, inter-synodical and even inter-confessional in character, represents a broad cooperative of laymen and clergy through whom and for whom the aims of the society are achieved. In addition to the national organization, regional and local organizations have been established, and it is through these that the society maintains close contact with the parochial as well as the national and international scenes.

The members of the society evince a common desire to "help unify Christian worshippers of the Triune God, and to alert Lutherans in particular to the rich integrating heritage bequeathed to them in their worship,



music and arts. They recognize that large segments of Protestants have ignored and rejected some of the magnificent possessions which God has given to the church in order to integrate and unify His people. We think particularly of such blessings as: sound Christian theology, trinitarian liturgies, virile and exalted hymnology, worshipful music, and worthy musical instruments, distinguished church art and symbolism, impressive ecclesiastical architecture, stimulating religious literature, and compelling religious drama."

In order to awaken the church to the unitive values and worship significance of such blessings, the society has organized twelve commissions whose task it is to make a meaningful presentation of these values. Members elect service in the various commissions according to their areas of interest and capabilities. Each commission concentrates on a particular area of worship: theology, liturgy, hymnology, architecture, organs, choral music, fine arts, literature and drama, parish music, standards and studies, musicology, and audio-visual communications.

In addition to their own original efforts on behalf of their subject matter, these commissions catalogue and collect all existing excellent studies and examples of creative application of such knowledge already accomplished by individuals or organizations. The membership is kept aware of the progress of this activity through general mailings of bibliography, abstracts, reviews, listings, reprints of final papers produced by commission projects, complimentary copies of printed materials, and via the publications of the society.

The results of such concerted activity are threefold:

(1) A single, ready resource is established to which parishes, pastors, and laymen can turn for assistance in problems through the best materials available, the existence of which might otherwise not have been known to them.

(2) Those aspects of each area of subject matter which have been sorely neglected are isolated for future commission activity. Such information is also available to any non-member scholar who seeks it. Occasionally such projects are undertaken jointly by the society and another organization such as a church board or commission, a practice heartily encouraged by the society and groups which have already cooperated in this way.

(3) The active presence of such an ecumenical treasury of excellence incidentally but effectively establishes sound criteria for evaluating the continuing creativity of the church.

During the annual conference of the society, these commissions take the form of workshops. Here the recommendations and decisions are made which will outline the society's course of action for the following year, and point forward to the work of the next conference. Each conference convenes all twelve commissions: singly, for specific discussion and work, and corporately, for lectures common to all. The conference thus realizes both the individual objectives of each commission as well as the broad objectives held in common by all the commissions.

It is at the national conference, and in the regional conferences, that the society makes its most eloquent witness. Here a group of similarly concerned individuals find opportunity for a more cosmopolitan fellowship, geographically and professionally, than it might otherwise be possible to enjoy. Problems and ideas are shared, discussed, and often solved with a perspective far more catholic and free of parochial emphases and polemic animus than is ordinarily afforded by ordinary life of high administration or professional and parish activity.

An organization such as the Lutheran Society for Worship, Music and the Arts has no true antecedent in the history of the Christian church. It is neither a "liturgical movement" nor an association of professionals dedicated to the advancement of any particular discipline. It is a free confraternity of all types of Christian laborers prompted by the Holy Spirit to seek to edify the church. It is so often true that he who pursues his professional and spiritual emergence with a sense of fervor is in greatest danger out of the perfection of his own discipline of observing other disciplines and spheres of human activity from a contracted point of view. Consequently, organizations within the Christian community which are constituted out of a single-interest group or for a limited community of discourse have been most effective usually only in building higher the walls which delimit their thinking. The efforts of these groups have seldom been edifying and unifying to the church.

As the name of the Lutheran Society for Worship, Music, and the Arts implies, the power to transcend such dangers is inherent



in its ordering. Herein lies its most unique quality. The implication of the name is that worship and its related arts are an inseparable unity which cannot be understood or practiced apart from each other. It means that the arts stand within the church only when they function as worship, that is, as human creations apprehended by God for a means by which he makes himself known to us, and as an expression or means of reply by which we respond to his gifts in faith and love. The quality of response is the nucleus of the existence and activity of the society. The society speaks of worship in the fulness of its meaning as the total action of the total church; its work must serve, therefore, the whole Christian community and rise from a sensitive awareness of the realities of participation in the life of that community.

Since the primary basis for association with the Lutheran Society is a concern for genuine Christian worship, its ecumenicity is legitimate and successful. Although the society operates outside the polity of any church body, its work is sanctioned by all of them.

The Lutheran Society applies a theocentric approach to all areas of its activity. Its program is so designed that it will employ a sound theological foundation. That foundation is all of Christian theology: the presence of *Lutheran* in the name does not bespeak a sectarian emphasis to its activities; it states that the society was founded within a specific tradition for which and to which it assumes responsibility. No part of the purposes of the organization intends doctrinal statement or any other kind of pronouncement on subject matter related to its activities which might tend to obscure the free action of God's grace. The work of the society is based on faith as a complete response to God. As theology is that intellectual enterprise of man which seeks to present faith in the fullest meaning and the transcendent dimensions of the historically continuous church as the community of the faithful, just so it is the foundation of the labor and achievements of the society.

Inasmuch as the vitality and efficacy of the work of the Lutheran Society depends on its right hearing of what God says, all of the areas of study and activity are subsumed under the discipline of theology. Beyond that no special place or preference is accorded the theologian or his subject matter. It is the aim of the group to encourage creative and scholarly endeavor in *all* areas related to worship; to stimulate the attainment of

high standards of performance and achievement everywhere.

"In a person regenerate and enlightened by the Holy Spirit through the Word, the natural wisdom of man is a fair and glorious instrument and the work of God."<sup>1</sup> It is to be educated and applied to life that it might more gloriously serve God. Through the Holy Spirit, God provides the human reason with the knowledge and the freedom to do with love and in faith that which the human situation requires it to do. The Christian is free to work in the world, and to choose the profession in which he wishes to work. God does not prescribe any pre-eminence to any one area of human thought; obviously such an organization as the Lutheran Society does well to emulate his example. God endows man with his particular talents and does so with a various hand. He sustains man in his endeavor and teaches others to value his achievements. But there is nothing in the word of God which constructs the immediate cultural community in which man works. This is the Christian responsibility in response to his gifts. The Christian's attitude toward culture (complete response in faith) is not some special concept which he holds along with other philosophical attitudes, however. It is much more basic than that; it is the fundamental springboard of human action. He is impelled to tell the truth of God, and he is impelled to do it in the very best way his culture can provide. Thus the Christian is obligated to strive for the highest goals in his profession. Therefore the aim of the society is to devise ways and means for improving the cultural standards, taste, and craftsmanship, especially as they relate to the worship of the Lutherans of America.

If the society believes that all of its work in all areas of its interest must stand the test of theological judgment, it does not, on the other hand, make the mistake of extending the limits of theological enterprise by falsely substituting its statements for the proper criteria of excellence and value which are peculiar to each intellectual enterprise of the human mind. At the same time, the cultural presentations of the society must be honest, with no professional pretensions other than the search for the kind of perfection which permits the message of God to shine through most clearly. The pursuit of high culture

<sup>1</sup> Kerr, H. T.: *A Compend of Luther's Theology*, pp. 4-5.



without the specifically Christian relatedness to worship too often tempts man to exchange the spiritual dilemma of his worldly life for the lostness of a mystical, cathartic, velvet fog becoming a spiritual opiate and a destroyer of the power of Christianity at work in the world. God sanctified the natural world through the incarnate Christ; he did not deify it. Knowledge pursued without faith atrophies the capacity for faith; faith without the direction of knowledge dissipates into sentimentality.

While the Christian heritage, especially the Lutheran tradition, is the basis of study and activity, the society is particularly concerned with fostering a continuing creativity which seeks to serve and convey the message of the word to the church in a contemporary idiom. The work of the society stands within the church and embodies the church's historical perspective. However, it regards creativity as a free response: the society idealizes no tradition, style, period, object or rite as especially revelatory or canonic or salvatory in itself. In so far as any elements or objects of our heritage are able to enclose or affirm the responsive utterances of the contemporary Christian, they are worthy of a continuing exercise. It is recognized that a man thinks and acts from within the tradition which mothered him. Thus his heritage offers him the value of structuring his enterprise, saving him from ambiguity of position. Should affirmation of that heritage hinder his creative vitality, preventing his honest, responsible effort toward finding perspicuous, evocative structures and technics by which his Christian intention can touch meaningfully the human contemporary experience, then he must learn to reject his relationship with that tradition as illusionary and idolatrous.

It is the task of the Lutheran Society, however, to make sense out of traditional values which are the natural foundation of our culture, and to translate them into contemporary ones. It seeks to study the whole Christian heritage in its fullest theological and cultural dimension, finding those moments when the relationship between God and men in Christ was understood and expressed most clearly, releasing such dynamic values from their captivity in history to their commanding cogency for the mind of today.

Most of the activity of the Lutheran Society is presently focused on this act of bringing traditional values into dynamic relationship with the contemporary Christian community.

The society is also mindful of the countless artists in the world today who speak outside any sturdy context of values who need the church, and who have great gifts to offer in service. The artist must have some basic correlative for holding the conflicting alternatives in life in a state of balancing tension, in order that he might control them and use them to illuminate his ideas... to enrich and increase art values. He must learn to handle knowledge within a context of larger values. Art must draw attention to life, to the meaning of life. So long as it speaks within a community of belief, it can communicate thus.

The classic artist merely sets situations against a pattern of belief, and through this juxtapositioning the meaning comes clear. The Romantic artist substituted self for a pattern of belief, and it is for this reason that Romantic works are essentially autobiographical and over-extended. The contemporary artist who found no sufficient element of tension in traditional belief patterns and who were offended by the intense personalization of substitute patterns, rejected both and speaks out of and into a void. He is led in his aloneness to exchange a monstrously developed artistic insight for the correlative of a Christian heart. To become too much occupied with the realities of life without the "perspective of transcendent value" is to destroy one's orientation. The artist is exiled to the vacuity of life of the autonomous mind, whose autonomy comes not from Christ or in fact from anything, but from negation.

For his attempt to find other constructs the artist is not to be blamed. The modern man did not literally reject the Christian message of the transcendent Christ: it was not really available to him, that is, as a general conventionally accrued fragment of his daily culture. It was not, of course, that God's word had been withdrawn from the church; it had only become hidden in the recent historical process. What was generally available were disemboweled derivatives of Christianity, and these the modern man rejected because in none of them did he find the dimension of depth or tension, of transcendentalism which would help him bridge the gap between what he was and what he hoped to be. The consequence was a revolt against the total Christian heritage, spiritual and cultural.

It is the purpose of the Lutheran Society for Worship, Music, and the Arts to offer to



these artists too, dynamic translation of the great values of the Christian heritage, to provide them, thus, with a firm foundation of knowledge and understanding on which they can build new and exciting monuments of art for the service of the church. With this new context of values, the artist can contemplate and draw together into his creative project the disjunct materials and conflicting attitudes and experiences of our mid-century world, counterpointing them from a position of personal balance to distil the greatest value and meaning out of them. For him, the modern crises becomes a source not of inhibition of value or of destruction of balance, but of expressive material with which he can enrich his picture of human values. Freed from the tyranny of his own prejudices, old and new, he is able to reach for the transcendent values of Christ which have served all the great ages of man, calling them into play in our present turbulent world. As the society succeeds in aiding artists both within and outside the church in seeing the whole Christian heritage clearly and critically, it will perform an inestimable service to the unity of the church and of all mankind.

These purposes to which the Lutheran Society is committed are translated into actualities through the efforts of its twelve commissions. Here the program is broken down into workable projects to be accomplished by the membership. The real work of the society, the study, researching, collecting, writing, labor of all kinds, is and must be done by all of the members. The society is not some kind of Congregation of the Holy Intelligentsia whose few do the thinking and acting for the edification of the multitude. Its success depends upon the total action of the whole group.

Wisdom is available to everyman; there is no profession, province or people claiming a corner on the gifts of God. Not only is it mechanically impossible for the society to function without total participation of its membership, to do so is absolutely contrary to the basic construct of the organization. Unfortunately almost all of our social structure is organized with the committee doing the functions which ought to be the individual responsibility of the whole people. Even the church has become so ordered. The society offers, therefore, an opportunity and a motivation for every man to serve in a dynamic way that was not so universally available before. The lectures, panels, seminars, and

symposiums at the conferences provide the time and means for learning. The publications of the society (RESPONSE a distinguished periodical; a pamphlet Series; and a bulletin Series) present eloquent discourse in all the areas of activity for continuing discussion and study. Unless the time of learning is followed by the doing, the society will fail to achieve its aims. Indissolubly tied up as it is with the whole worship life of the Christian, its program can be performed at no other time, by no other group than its individual membership acting in a unity of response.

Faith and love motivate all men to action, infecting their minds and inciting them to learning for the humble purpose of service. A mind infused with God's love is rescued from detachment and spectatorship, is given a positive identification which demands expression. If the aims of the Lutheran Society for Worship, Music, and the Arts are preached powerfully and urgently, its people cannot but respond.

WILLIAM R. WALTERS

### Progress Toward Lutheran Unity

CHURCHES IN AMERICA are discussing and effecting mergers. The United Presbyterian Church in North America has united with the Presbyterian Church in the USA to form the United Presbyterian Church in the USA. In spite of differing polity, the Congregational Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church have formed the United Church of Christ. Within the Lutheran family, two mergers are in process the American Lutheran Church, The<sup>1</sup> Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church are forming The American Lutheran Church, scheduled to begin functioning January 1, 1961;<sup>2</sup> the American Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church, The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, and The United Lutheran Church in America

<sup>1</sup> The inconsistent capitalization of articles is because of variation in official church body names.

<sup>2</sup> The Lutheran Free Church participated in unity discussions with the three churches mentioned above but failed in a congregational referendum to ratify the union.



have planned formation of the Lutheran Church in America in 1962. This article will focus on the latter merger.

### How did Merger Plans Develop?

Church merger takes years of planning. Consider the development of the proposed Lutheran Church in America. Already in 1955, The United Lutheran Church in America and the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church invited fourteen other Lutheran churches in America "to designate duly authorized representatives to meet with the commissions of our two churches, and with similarly empowered representatives of other Lutheran church bodies, to consider such organic union as will give real evidence of our unity in the faith and to proceed to draft a constitution and devise organizational procedures to effect union." Only two bodies, the American Evangelical Lutheran Church (of Danish background) and The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (known also as the Suomi Synod), accepted the invitation. The other churches within the National Lutheran Council declined the invitation because of their prior commitment to the other Lutheran merger mentioned above, and churches outside of the Council were not ready to consider affiliation with other Lutheran bodies.

Representatives of the inviting and accepting churches formed a Joint Commission on Lutheran Unity to plan union. At the 1960 conventions, the four participating churches will vote on a merger proposal which includes the constitution and by-laws of the church, an approved constitution for synods, and an approved constitution for congregations. Further ratification by two-thirds of the synods of ULCA, concurrence by the conferences of Augustana and a two-thirds majority approval by congregations of FELC are necessary. The required approval by all participants may well be secured by the fall of 1961. The constituting convention is planned for June 1962, to be followed by the organization of boards, auxiliaries, and synods of the new church. By January 1, 1963—seven years after the initial suggestion—the Lutheran Church in America should be in full operation.

The Joint Commission on Lutheran Unity has met as often as four times a year, bringing together the architects of a new church—laymen and ministers, professors of theology

and parish pastors, presidents of synods and specialists in various fields of church work, men from the Atlantic seaboard and from the Rocky Mountains; Germans, Swedes, Finns, Danes and others. In addition to meetings of the Joint Commission, there have been countless meetings by special committees on doctrine and living tradition, functions and powers, geographical boundaries, constitution, and all the special areas of church concern.

### What is Actually Happening?

Current Lutheran mergers are consolidating seven of the eight National Lutheran Council bodies into two large bodies. The American Lutheran Church will have a membership of over 2,000,000, and the Lutheran Church in America is expected to have a membership of over 3,000,000. If the mergers are effected as planned, the National Lutheran Council, which consisted of four small churches, three fairly large churches and one large church, will become an agency of two large churches and one small church. The mergers need not spell the end of the Council. Indeed there is hope in some quarters that this cooperative agency for relief, student work, service for military personnel, and other services, may be expanded to include churches now outside of Council membership.

The proposed Lutheran Church in America merger is to some extent a return to unfinished business. The Augustana Synod was the only constituent synod of the then merging bodies which did not ratify and join the 1918 merger which united the General Council, the General Synod and the United Synod in the South, to form The United Lutheran Church in America.<sup>3</sup> The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church had also considered joining The United Lutheran Church in America decades ago, but was not ready to take the step at that time. The merger is therefore a logical step for churches which have walked together for quite a while.

The Joint Commission on Lutheran Unity has brought together a large church of 2,400,000 members (ULCA), a moderately large body of 576,000 members (Augustana) and two small synods of 23,000 and 38,000

<sup>3</sup> J. L. Neve and Willard D. Allbeck, *History of the Lutheran Church in America*, page 318.



members respectively (AELC and FELC). Quite obviously, the merger process could have been simply that of the larger bodies absorbing the smaller ones, but both the spirit and the mechanics of the merger have obviated this procedure. The numerically small bodies have been made true partners in the union by full representation, participation and fellowship. The formation of the Lutheran Church in America is on a broader base than, for example, the merger of United Presbyterians (membership 251,000) with the Presbyterian Church in the USA (membership 2,809,000) to form the United Presbyterian Church in the USA.

### What will the New Church be Like?

The Lutheran Church of America has three organizational foci—the congregation, the synod, and the general body. Article IV of the proposed constitution states, "This church... derives its character and powers from the sanction and representation of its congregations and from its inherent nature as an expression of the broader fellowship of the faithful." The new church will not have the strong congregationalism of the Missouri Synod nor an episcopal pattern such as that found in the Church of Sweden; it is organized rather in the presbyterial pattern which has been predominant in the Lutheran churches in America.<sup>4</sup>

The new church will consist of congregations and pastors rather than simply of congregations. The proposed polity has a careful delineation of powers and functions for the congregation, the synod, and the general church body. Congregations retain authority in all matters not committed to the synods or to the general church. Synods will have powers beyond merely unifying and advisory functions. "The principle function of synods shall be the shepherding of their constituent congregations and ministers, including oversight to conserve unity in the true faith.... The Synods shall have primary responsibility for the recruiting, preparation and ordination of ministers for the reception of congregations, and for the discipline of both congregations and ministers...."<sup>5</sup>

The general body, in turn, is much more than advisory to the synods. The new church is not merely a federation of synods nor a

congeries of congregations. It is a church body with considerable powers. For example, the general church defines the standards for the ministry, controls publication of liturgies, hymnals and catechisms, and administers its work through eight boards and seven commissions. In many areas there is a sharing of responsibility. In theological education, for example, the general body sets the standards and the master plan of seminary location, but the theological seminaries are owned, administered and supported by synods. Ministers are to be ordained by synods acting on behalf of the church, but the examining committee will have members representing the general body as well as members representing the synod.

Provision has been made to allow for linguistic as well as geographic delineation of synods. It is not expected, however, that the AELC or the FELC or the ULCA's Icelandic Synod or Slovak Zion Synod will exercise this option of merger on a non-geographic basis.

### What Problems were Encountered?

The formation of a new church body, with changed procedures for all participants does not come about painlessly. There were legitimate differences of opinion in JCLU deliberations. A case in point was a question of lodgism. Augustana has through the years insisted that no minister is to belong to the masons or to any other such lodge. The United Lutheran Church in America, while discouraging such membership, has opposed legalistic prohibitions in the matter, seeking to remedy the situation by counseling. After thorough discussion, the proposed constitution for the LC in A has the following statement: "After the organization of the Lutheran Church in America no person who belongs to any organization which claims to possess in its teachings and ceremonies that which the Lord has given solely to His Church, shall be ordained or otherwise received into the ministry of this church, nor shall any person so ordained or received by this church be retained in its ministry if he subsequently joins such an organization. Violation of this rule shall make such minister subject to discipline."

Another problem area was that of theological education. Should the new church have one, few, or many seminaries? Should they be seminaries of the synod or of the

<sup>4</sup> Conrad Bergendoff, *The Doctrine of the Church in American Lutheranism*, page 33.

<sup>5</sup> Proposed constitution of the Lutheran Church in America, Article VIII, Section 7.



general church? The administrative solution was a plan of shared responsibility, as we have seen above; seminaries themselves even before union of the churches are coming to grips with the numerical problem, so that a number of seminary merger discussions are in progress.

In some problems other than theological factors were in the forefront. Headquarters location, for example, raised questions of investment in properties, contact with other Lutheran and non-Lutheran bodies, effectiveness of administration, and even provincial prejudices. In the long run, however, cold facts and warm fellowship together led to a proposed solution acceptable to all: headquarters of the church and of the majority of the board and commissions in New York City, with some boards and commissions located in Chicago, Minneapolis and Philadelphia.

### How does this Merger Compare with Others?

We have referred briefly to other church affiliations taking place on the American scene. The Presbyterian merger referred to above came about in June 1957 (the third try) with a rather slim majority of 161-124, although the two bodies involved had no essential doctrinal differences.

A more complicated merger, at least to one who observes from the sidelines, is the combination—seventeen years in the making—of Congregational and Presbyterian streams in the United Church of Christ. The bodies agreed to merge in 1957. At the second general synod of the body in July 1959, the constitution was not ready for adoption. Therefore a special synod will be held in July 1960 to vote on the constitution, after which the constituencies will have a year to ratify the constitution prior to final adoption at the general synod of 1961. In the interim—1957 to 1961—the church body functions in Siamese-twin fashion, with co-presidents and co-secretaries. In a rationalization of this procedure, an apologist for the arrangement stated: "There have been allusions to the imperfection or the incompleteness of the marriage performed. The banns were published in 1948, the marriage was legally performed at Cleveland.... What we are engaged in now is building the house to live in. That takes time."<sup>6</sup> Lutherans have

preferred to prepare a house they can readily move into as soon as the marriage is performed.<sup>7</sup>

The basic reconciliation of the Congregational versus Presbyterian issue for the United Church of Christ is a hula arrangement of stability at the top with much freedom at the bottom—orderly structure for the national organization but autonomy for the local congregation. The Lutheran Church in America union, completely within the Lutheran family, has faced a simpler task polity-wise than the United Church of Christ.

### What of Future Lutheran Unity?

The Lutheran Church in America now being formed is not envisaged as an ultimate union but rather as one step in a process. The preamble to the constitution concludes, "... We... adopt this constitution to govern our common life in [our Lord Jesus Christ] and our united witness to Him, praying that He who is the Lord of the Church may thereby lead us toward a more inclusive union of all Lutherans on this continent." All four participating bodies share disappointment that the present merger is not inclusive of all the National Lutheran Council bodies. However, there are those who conjecture that the present development is the most promising path toward "pan-Lutheran" unity. These observers believe that Missouri could more readily enter merger discussions with two bodies of comparable size than with one church twice as large as she is. There would also be the psychological advantage of dealing with new groups, or at least with different labels. Nobody can say whether the choices made were better than the possible alternatives. After decisions are made, it is impossible to return to the starting point and to try another alternative—the situation changes and we go on for better or worse. Churches as well as individuals can ponder the wisdom of Robert Frost's "The Road Not Taken":

I shall be telling this with a sigh  
Somewhere ages and ages hence:  
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—  
I took the one less traveled by,  
And that has made all the difference.

<sup>7</sup> It must be emphasized that all merger plans and documents of the Lutheran Church in America are merely tentative at this point, and that amendments, postponements and even rejections are possibilities.

<sup>6</sup> *The Christian Century*, July 22, 1959.



There are several factors which encourage us to be optimistic about future Lutheran unity: isolating factors such as linguistic barriers are diminishing; planners of both TALC and the LC in A have discussed the need to conserve lines of communication and cooperation which have existed between the component churches; the church bodies being formed will continue to work together in the National Lutheran Council; there are chinks in Missouri's traditional wall of isolationism; and merger is in the air.

Against these positive factors will be the natural inertia of recently created churches concerned further union. There is an unwillingness to reshuffle organizations which have just been created. Energies are directed to consolidation of what has been brought together. There is a need to become acquainted with others within the new structure; patterns must become established; new loyalties must be built. There is in every new group a self-consciousness for some time. Then, only after inner relationships have jelled, is there time and inclination to look at broader relationships. Many of us are hopeful that Lutherans involved in the current mergers will not shelve the matter of broader unity for long.

Lutheran unity in America continues to be unfinished business.

BERNHARD HILLILA

## Norway

### Actions: An Evangelism Program for the Churches of Norway

Norway has a state church which includes 97% of the population. Because of a very strong pietistic movement there are today nearly as many prayer houses as churches in the country. Revivals have most often taken place in connection with the activities of the prayer houses. The decisively new element in this program of "actions" is that the planning and execution is carried out in close cooperation between clergy and laity, and occurs within the confines of the church, that is, in the congregations. This article will

present three important aspects of this new program:

1. its history
2. the methods of execution
3. the follow-up work

#### 1. History and Development

Encouraged by impulses from Lutheran churches in the USA, the Lutheran Church in Germany and the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, the first "action" was planned and executed in 1954 in seven congregations in the city of Oslo. A further drive involved 38 congregations in the city of Oslo and 19 congregations in Østfold (small town and rural congregations). Since then from 600-700 congregations of all kinds from among the 1,300 in Norway have staged "actions" of this kind. The first "action" for the northern regions has taken place, and there are some congregations which have had as many as two or three of these "actions."

The first "action" was carried out by a number of congregations in a limited geographical area. In the second, however, the tendency has been for the local congregations to conduct "actions" of their own or in cooperation with some few neighboring congregations. In three cases larger districts have had a second "action" which involved additional congregations. From the beginning house-to-house visitation has played an important role and the co-workers were primarily trained for this purpose. Thus in the first action in Oslo, 1,500 visitors called on 30,000 homes, and in the second action in Østfold 870 visited 27,000 homes.

The visitation program was actually the "newest" thing about the whole set-up. The first experiments were made and the first results were gathered along this line. At the beginning opinions wavered between too much anxiety and too much optimism. Some feared that the visitors would not be welcomed; others hoped that Christians would thus be able to visit people, help them in practical ways and even talk to them about spiritual matters. Both positions proved to be somewhat exaggerated, and a more realistic approach was taken limiting the first visitations to the task of inviting people to the meetings of the church. The second and third "actions," encouraged by the interest and openness of the families visited, went beyond the stage of merely issuing invitations to church activities. In some few congregations teams



of visitors who do house visitation throughout the year, e. g. one afternoon per month, have been organized. Experience has shown that visitors from the church are welcome. The invitations are kindly received and the reports about the congregations are listened to with great interest. They frequently provide the opportunity for talks about spiritual matters and questions of practical concern.

Another new element are the courses for preachers which are attended by both clergy and laity. These consist of a series of morning meetings which are attended by those who are taking an active part in the "actions." All those who participate in these discussions gain something of value for use in their own congregations.

## 2. Planning and Execution

To begin with the preparations consist of instruction in Bible study and prayer. Both of these belong together and do not come easily to modern Christians. Instruction is needed. Therefore everyone receives a prayer card and a Bible study outline for daily devotion which are geared to the "action." This material is given to everyone who would like to have it and will prepare himself during the course of a year. The experience has been that many more people are willing to join than are expected.

The Bible and prayer groups which have been organized in the congregations have proved to be of great help. In these groups many people have learned the use of the Bible for the first time, such as, for example, through the use of cross references. Here opportunity is given to speak freely about the significance of the Scriptures for daily life. In small groups people dare to speak out—both of their joys and their sorrows.

The group leader is of great importance for the life of a Bible study group. He need not be a specialist. Usually any Christian with some experience can be a leader, especially when he possesses certain "helps" such as the study outline "Faith and Service" which was prepared for this purpose. This outline covers nine sessions dealing with Bible texts which are basic to the Christian faith, and ten further meetings on texts dealing with stewardship. Most of these texts are studied by small groups of 5-10 persons, while some few are dealt with by the pastor as a Bible lesson once a month when all are assembled. This variation between small group meetings

and larger gatherings has proved most fruitful. After this period of preparation, the members of the groups are asked whether or not they will participate in the "action" as house visitors.

The most effective manner of organization has been by neighborhood groups, coming together for an hour and a half every two weeks in the homes. After the visits people who live further away in the area can be invited. This program can be organized within the already existing groups and associations, which can devote every second meeting to Bible study and prayer along the lines mentioned above. The best results, however, have come out of new groups organized in the neighborhoods.

In any congregation there may be a number of groups which combine for such an evangelism program. Often there are 20-30 groups and sometimes even as many as 50 which combine for such an "action." Although this preparation is essential for the house visitation, it is at the same time not sufficient for this purpose. Those who are willing to do house visitation are gathered for a further series of five special lessons—biblical and practical—based on a booklet on the theme—"Service Outside." The visitors are then "called" to this service either through personal interviews or through a "letter of calling" (kallsbrev).

## 3. Evaluation and Follow-up

During past years nearly  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the Norwegian population have been in touch with the "actions" through meetings in the home and attendance at the preparatory meetings. At first it was planned that the "actions" should last only one week, but it soon became evident that a longer period of time was necessary for a real revival. In one case this was extended to a half year. The most obvious effects of the "actions" are that a surprisingly high percentage of the "unchurched" attend and for the first time feel themselves to be invited and challenged by their church.

Thus it was necessary for follow-up work to be oriented around this fact. After the discovery that the visitors were so welcome wherever they went, it was obvious that such visits must be repeated. These friendly and personal invitations had to be transformed into meaningful home visits. This takes a great deal of time. Therefore the house visitation in a congregation is planned one



year in advance, in order to maintain frequent contact with all of the families.

Experience shows that the "actions" touch upon the spiritual life. The visitors meet with a great deal of ignorance about the church and Christian faith. Experience also shows that many of the families are in need of material and practical assistance. The monthly follow-up meetings which are combined with mutual Bible study and prayer provide an opportunity for the visitors to share their experiences.

The "actions" provide a good opportunity for bringing the newly won people into the already existing groups. After one whole year of mutual and intensive Bible study and prayer, the participants are ready for more extensive experience. Therefore nearly 30% of the groups which have been formed for the "action" remain in existence after its conclusion.

Basically, however, this follow-up work needs some central direction. Unfortunately there is as yet no organization, no central agency and no manual to serve this purpose. The only thing that has been done along this line is that some few consultations have been held for sharing experiences between representatives from "action" congregations throughout the country. Not least important has been the attempt to see that districts in need of financial help have received it from the more "well-to-do" districts, thus enabling them to conduct "actions" in their congregations as well.

### The Norsk Menighetsinstitutt

When speaking of the new forms of evangelism which have been developed in Norway, we dare not forget a new institute which is of great significance in this area—the Norwegian Institute for Congregational Life (Norsk Menighetsinstitutt). This institute has a double task. First of all it aims to help the church to draw near to those groups of the population with whom the church has lost effective contact. Secondly it aims through practical help and instruction to stimulate the local congregations to extend their Christian witness and charitable service to "new" people, that is, to the man of today. The institute is still in the experimental stage. Its attention is particularly turned to people active in industry.

About one third of the Norwegian population is in some way or other involved in in-

dustrial occupations. For historical, social, economic and psychological reasons, a gulf has existed between the church and the majority of this group. The task now is to bridge this gap. That it is gradually beginning to disappear is evidenced by the conferences for industrial workers which have been held during the past four years under the auspices of this institute. We have suddenly noticed that the industrial workers of this country are far more open to evangelism and the activities of the local congregations than we had thought was the case. The great question for the church is how to mobilize spiritual and financial resources adequate to this new situation. It would be particularly worthwhile to combine this conference program with the work of the "actions." The first step has been taken along this line in that the Menighetsinstitutt has arranged for a number of courses for members of congregational councils where the whole situation in general and evangelism in particular is discussed. During the coming years it will be of the utmost significance for the work of the church that these different attempts which have been undertaken by people of good and sincere will find their rightful place in and through the churches as a means of service and witness.

SVERRE SMAADAH

## Czechoslovakia

### A Brotherly Word to the Brethren\* in Faith

THE SLOVAK LUTHERAN CHURCH (Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession) in Czechoslovakia expressed its position in the family of Lutheran churches and its attitude to the ecumenical fellowship in the following words of its church constitution adopted at the session of the Synod at Modra on the 9th October, 1951: "The Slovak Lutheran Church desires to entertain fraternal relations particularly with other Protestant churches in the Czechoslovak

\* Original English text of message from the Slovak Church in Czechoslovakia.



Republic and to cooperate with them in the work of religious and moral renewal... It considers itself a member of the closer family of the churches of the Augsburg Confession in the world." This shows that the Slovak Lutheran Church regards good relations with other Lutheran churches in the world and even with other Christian churches as an integral part of its life.

It tries to make good this attitude in its practice. That is why it is seeking ways and means of coming together and of finding better mutual understanding. That is why it wishes to be in close relations with all Lutheran churches through the Lutheran World Federation and with all other Christians through the World Council of Churches. It welcomes all opportunities to meet them at home or abroad. These contacts with other Lutheran and Christian churches are of a particular importance because of our church being a minority church—although it is after all the largest Lutheran church in the socialistic part of the world.

While welcoming these contacts with churches abroad we have to word some remarks and desires. Today we want to address a brotherly word to the Lutheran World Federation as a body of which our church is a member:

1. First of all we want to remark that *our church should be seen in a right perspective*. Since the last war our church was often seen in a false light as if it were not fully and adequately a church. In answer to that suspicion we want first of all to point to the history experienced by our church. This history is in some degree reflected in its present work. While many other churches enjoyed a relatively peaceful development, Protestants in our country have been deeply marked by years of struggle in the period of ruthless Counter-reformation. Even if decimated, the church remained conscience (*sic*) of its own people and in consequence it felt and feels bound to respond to the needs of this people in new historical situations. Only a living fellowship, alert to its ecclesiastical ties and theological tasks was and is able to grapple with the tremendous changes of today whose impact is perhaps not always fully realized by the Christendom of western countries. In this light we regard the first duty of the Lutheran World Federation in the matter of mutual relationship of Lutheran Churches to be this: the LWF has to be a bridge between individual Lutheran churches, it has to

facilitate and assist joint grappling with problems common to all Lutherans.

2. By associating Lutherans in a common organization the LWF is not to encourage any spirit of exclusiveness on their part. It has a broader *ecumenical mission*. This association is not and must not be directed against other confessional associations or against ecumenical bodies as the WCC or the International Missionary Council. By delivering individual Lutheran churches from eventual loneliness the LWF can help them to realize better the ecumenical tasks of Lutheranism.

3. In connection with this we want to mention the *inter-church aid and service* of the LWF. Inspired by the spirit of Christ's love this work is to be distributed fairly wherever the need is greatest. In this respect we should like to help by our participation in the LWF against the danger that any purposes or motives besides Christian love should influence this work. We are not led by concern for any material aid which we would like to receive from the LWF but rather by the wish to find in it a platform in which we as the largest Slavonic Protestant church could freely address our word to brethren in other churches. This we regard as an essential mission of the LWF.

Through the LWF we should also like to say an open and fraternal word to the Lutheran Church in the neighbouring German nation. This church could by its influence do very much against the false and harmful confusion of political prejudice and ideology with Christian faith and confession. We wish to see Germans as our brethren who also think on the things which belong to the peace and good of all men and who wish to strengthen the sane voices in their nation repudiating nationalism and racialism of any kind.

4. Lutheranism with its *emphasis on the grace of God* to be received by really and fully trusting him could and should be helpful in achieving an *understanding attitude to any society*. We therefore expect a more positive evaluation of the efforts of the churches in our part of the world on the part of the LWF. Our church has its loyal church people, living in the church and with the church, it has an original theology, it grapples with problems, often very difficult ones, and thus gathers experiences which may be valuable even for the great churches often influenced too much by traditionalism and met (*sic*) appreciating the diversity of forms of life.



5. We regard it as a major task not only of the LWF but also of other inter-church bodies to take a positive stand towards the *efforts to preserve world peace*. Including so many large member churches in Germany and the USA the LWF has exceptional possibilities of addressing the word of reconciliation to the most important places—reconciliation of God with man and in consequence of man with man. In the leadership of the LWF there are many men who may do a great deal in this direction if they emphasize that in Lutheranism the word gospel is understood profoundly and consequently. Aside from any political influence, merely from the Christian point of view, it is necessary to say to all the world what the member churches of the LWF could and should do for creatively helping to establish world peace.

6. The LWF includes a large group of *minority churches*. In fact, they constitute (as churches) the majority of the LWF. It is only right that the LWF should continue to pay careful attention to the special problems of these churches as it was initiated at Semmering and in Gdynia.<sup>1</sup> We expect that an extension of this work will lead to good and helpful results.

7. The LWF should above all try to understand the needs and interests of member churches. We are aware what value a careful and *profound study* of urgent problems and the dissemination of the results of this study could acquire not only for member churches but for Christendom as a whole. We have in mind problems which result from the specifically Lutheran understanding of the mission of the church. Lutheranism by its attitude not only provides the possibility of understanding even very divergent Christian points of view but it can also help to see better the ties binding Christians and men generally to each other. The study work inside the LWF should not be limited to dogmatic issues but be extended to problems of ethical import pertaining to questions of everyday life in which Christianity has to be tested in relation to brethren in faith as well as to those standing outside any church.

JÁN CHABADA

---

<sup>1</sup> Reference is made here to the conferences of Lutheran European Minority Churches at Semmering (Austria) in April, 1956, and in Gdynia (Poland) in 1958, sponsored by the LWF.



## BOOK REVIEWS

### *Nineteenth Century Theology*

FROM ROUSSEAU TO RITSCHL. By Karl Barth. London: SCM Press, 1959. 436 pp. 42 s.

GESETZ UND EVANGELIUM IN DER LUTHERISCHEN THEOLOGIE DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS. (*Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums, Vol. IV.*) By Robert C. Schultz. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1958. 200 pp.

Two introductory observations must be made. First, this book is the English translation of selected parts of Barth's *Die Protestantische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert*. According to the SCM Press, "this was done for the purpose of reducing the size of the volume." That is the usual result, but is that an adequate reason for making the abridgement? In any case, this was done, and this editorial truncation, wise or otherwise, must be acknowledged. Second, in spite of the title of the original German edition, both the 18th and 19th centuries are involved in this study. Chapter one of the present volume (which bears a more accurate title, one might say) is entitled, for example, "Man in the Eighteenth Century." Again, chapter two deals with the philosophy of Jean Jacques-Rousseau, whose entire life span fell in this same century. But all of this, it must be understood, leads eventually to the "age of Goethe," to the work of Schleiermacher and Ritschl, and to the theological problems of the 19th century.

I can frankly join the chorus of praise which has hailed the appearance of this addition to Barth's work in English translation. This is a unique Barth book, for in it we find, primarily, Barth the historian of doctrine, rather than the more familiar systematic theologian. And it is readily apparent that the venerable Barth excels in this field as well. Many incisive and suggestive insights emerge from these pages (which deal in successive chapters with Rousseau, Lessing, Kant, Herder, Novalis, Hegel, Schleiermacher, Feuerbach, Strauss and Ritschl), and our understanding of the history of doctrine and philosophy will be deepened and clarified as a result. But not only does this book enable us to better understand these great thinkers

from the past; it also tells a great deal about that famous contemporary cogitator, Karl Barth himself.

For one thing, it is clearly evident that Barth, even though he is the reigning champion of a specific school of dogmatic thought, definitely possesses both an open mind and a willingness to see and appreciate another man's point of view. It is quite obvious, I believe, that Barth and Rousseau have much to disagree about, but Barth's portrait of the eminent French Romanticist is warm and sympathetic to a remarkable degree. And this is typical of the entire book; all of these men are permitted to speak freely for themselves. To Barth's credit it must be said that he has not sought here to obfuscate the issues for selfish reasons; the editing is necessarily subjective to a degree, but the presentations do not become slanted as a result.

In presenting this material as he does, Barth also reveals the dazzling, kaleidoscopic range of his own learning and perception. He is without question an intellectual virtuoso, conversant in a surprising number of fields related to the life and thought of man. It is no doubt true that the extent of our accumulated knowledge is such by this time that it is no longer feasible for anyone to be a genuine "universal man"; it is also probable, however, that Karl Barth comes as close to this goal as any man now alive. His treatment of 18th century man is an excellent case in point, ranging as it does over theology, philosophy, politics, architecture, literature, education, music, history, and yet more. His comparison of the French and the American constitutions is apt: "the Calvinism gone to seed of the American document still distinguishes itself favorably from the Catholicism gone to seed of the French one."

This last observation prompts one to say further, by way of elaborating this thesis, that the so-called "vertical" emphasis of Barth's theology has not served to suppress in him a lively interest in and concern for the "horizontal" aspects of life. Pure Barthianism may be quite other-worldly in its doctrinal emphasis, holding out but scant hope for the perfectability of life in this world, but this theological stance has not deprived Barth of a willingness to appreciate the life of man in this world. Among other things, as is probably well known by this time, he is an avid fancier of the music of



W. A. Mozart. In other words, Karl Barth is not just an austere, transmundane theologian; he too is a man among men, albeit a rather unusual man to be sure.

A perusal of this book ought to enable almost anyone (sufficiently interested to do this, that is) to better understand that great modern phenomenon, Karl Barth, and his position in the theological tapestry of our times. Barth's theological tomes are noted (among other things) for their profundity, and there are no doubt many who have labored to "get inside" Barth without much success. This book, obliquely as well as directly, ought to illumine many a dark corner. Barth's view of and appreciation for philosophy, for example, is clearly indicated in this book. Barth's eschewal of natural religion, and his distrust of human reason in establishing God-man relationships is well known, but this must not persuade one to conclude that he is a narrow obscurantist who has nothing good to say about philosophy (and the rational process in general) in the understanding and outworking of theology. Furthermore, as the British editors point out, "Barth did not emerge from a vacuum: he stands in a historical line..." That is of course true, and this book enables the reader to draw parallels between Barth and other, perhaps better known theologians and philosophers, and it is possible that Barth's system will be more easily perceived and understood as a result.

Perhaps this is elementary, but it must be remembered in this connection that Barth's theology is in large part a reaction to the liberalism of the 19th century. Barth was trained in the tradition of Ritschl and Harnack, and he began his career as a willing disciple of this school. But in the crisis period of the first World War he discovered that the optimistic, man-centered emphasis of liberal thought no longer sufficed. The hard problems of that era prompted him to search for new solutions, and he found these in his now well-known "theology of the Word of God." Not everyone is agreed that Barth found the right answers; Gustaf Wingren, for example, recently pointed out that, in his opinion, Barthianism is not as unlike man-centered liberalism as Barth and his followers would like us to believe. In his recent book, *Theology in Conflict*, Wingren maintains that the question of man's knowledge of God looms so large in Barthianism that it, in effect, places man in the center of the entire structure.

In addition to the British edition, an American publishing firm has also brought out this same book. The American edition is the superior one in my estimation, and I make this judgment solely on the basis of the fact that this edition is graced and enhanced by a pointed Introduction from the facile pen of Professor Jaroslav Pelikan of the University of Chicago. Appropriately enough, this Introduction sets the stage for a fuller appreciation of what follows. Pelikan is obviously pleased with this book, not least because it will, he feels, help to dispel some of the "caricatures" of Barth which have persisted through the years. If this book is read as widely as it deserves to be, this hope ought to be amply fulfilled.

GENE LUND

The author of this work is an American who belongs to the Missouri Synod and studied for some time in Germany. According to the foreword, the topic for this thesis was given to him by the famous Erlangen professor of systematics and Luther research, Werner Elert. Following Elert's death, he finished the work under the direction of Professors P. Althaus and W. Maurer and it was accepted by the theological faculty of the University of Erlangen.

There is no doubt that the author, with an extensive knowledge of his subject, applied himself to the study of a topic which is worthy of notice, both from the point of view of systematic theology as well as the history of doctrine. The schema, law and gospel, constitutes the heart of Luther's Reformation theology. Every theological system which lays claim to being Lutheran must be measured by this yardstick. SCHULTZ has made this clear at the beginning of his thesis, when he says that "the central systematic formulation of the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone is the contrast between law and gospel" (p. 9).

Now the question arises whether the acknowledgement of this antithesis has been maintained in the subsequent theology of Lutheran Orthodoxy, Pietism and the Enlightenment. This question must be answered in the negative. According to the author's conclusions, which on the whole are right, none of the above-named theological epochs offer a correct development or restatement of this Reformation problem. Already in early Lutheran



orthodoxy a very different pair of concepts—reason and revelation—occupied the foreground in the place of the problematic of law and gospel. A study of the dogmatics of orthodoxy shows that the doctrine of law and gospel possesses no constitutive significance for it. It is pushed toward the end of the system and is treated in one paragraph under the doctrine of the word of God. This can also be seen in the supranaturalism and rationalism of the Enlightenment. The author does not, however, investigate more fully the reasons for this change in the history of theology which was to have such great consequences. He limits himself essentially to a substantiation of its readily observable effects. One of the reasons for the abandonment of the antithesis of law and gospel could well be that early orthodoxy had already deviated from Luther's understanding of the Scriptures by adopting the doctrine of verbal inspiration. The doctrine of verbal inspiration led to the principle of the formal authority of the Scriptures which more and more levelled out the antithesis between law and gospel, between the Old Testament righteousness through the law and the New Testament righteousness through faith.

In its outline, the author's thesis follows the development of the history of doctrine. In chapter I (pp. 11-39) he deals with the relationship between law and gospel in the German theology of the Enlightenment from the second half of the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th. Here two main streams can be distinguished: the supranaturalism of the orthodox tradition and rationalism. As representatives of the first stream, he investigates F. V. Reinhard and G. Chr. Storr, the founder of the Tübingen school. The rationalists Lessing, Kant, and C. L. Nitzsch are dealt with more thoroughly. A special excursus deals with the relationship between law and gospel in the view of history espoused by Ferd. Chr. Baur.

In this chapter, the name of Semler is missing (1725-1791). The influential stream of the historical-critical theology of the Enlightenment which was founded by Semler is completely ignored. This is to some extent understandable since the voluminous works of Semler are not very accessible and there is no reliable presentation of his theology available. Still it is regrettable that Semler's theology could not have been taken into consideration, because it could have made an essential contribution to the discussion of this

topic. In his "Geschichte der neueren evangelischen Theologie," Vol. IV, p. 64, E. Hirsch has stated that in the thought of Semler and the later theologians of the Enlightenment, "a resumption of Luther's view of the Mosaic law with all of its critical consequences" can be found. It is precisely this historical-critical theology of the Enlightenment, which is no longer based on the orthodox presupposition of the identity of the words of Scripture with the word of God, which has drawn closer to the biblical and Reformation understanding of the antithesis between law and gospel. However, it can not be said that it recognized the constitutive significance of this antithesis for the formation of theology and the construction of dogmatics.

In chapter II (pp. 40-61), the author deals with the conception of law and gospel which prevailed in the theology which was influenced by idealistic philosophy, the most important representative of which is Schleiermacher. In Schleiermacher's thought the contrast between man's consciousness of his need for salvation and the consciousness of having been saved took the place of the antithesis between law and gospel which, according to the Reformation view, represents two different judgments of God upon mankind. In keeping with his antinomianism, Schleiermacher rejected the doctrine of the wrath of God and described it as incompatible with the "true spirit of Christianity."

In the twenties of the 19th century, the idealistic theology was replaced by a *restauration* theology which attempted to revive early and "high" orthodoxy. In chapter III (pp. 62-97) which is devoted to this epoch, such figures as G. Thomasius and Vilmar are investigated as well as lesser known theologians such as Th. Lemus, E. Sartorius, L. Schöberlein, and others. With the exception of Fr. A. Philippi, who sharply distinguished between law and gospel in the order of salvation, most of the theologians of the *restauration* repeated the mistakes of orthodoxy.

Chapter IV (pp. 98-120) is devoted to the Erlangen theologians who played a dominant role in Germany in the middle of the last century. While he is primarily critical of the influential J. Chr. K. von Hofmann, he takes a positive view of Adolf von Harless who clearly recognized the significance of the doctrine of law and gospel and even stressed the antithesis between these two. In this respect his theology constitutes a "high-point." In Schultz's opinion, only Philippi,



Theodosius Harnack and C. F. W. Walther in the 19th century have possessed a similar understanding of this basic Reformation doctrine.

The concluding chapter (pp. 121-197) bears the title, "The Concentration of the Discussion of Law and Gospel upon the Theology of Luther." An intensive occupation with Luther's theology took place in connection with the jubilee of the Reformation in 1817. The author here traces the course of the various interpretations of Luther from L. Feuerbach through Th. Harnack and A. Ritschl to E. Troeltsch, who—just as Karl Barth did later—decisively rejected the Lutheran doctrine of law and gospel.

At the very beginning, Schultz expresses the conviction that the thesis that the Lutheran doctrine of justification finds its clearest expression in the antithesis of law and gospel is scarcely disputed in present-day Lutheran theology. This is on the whole true. There are, however, people pursuing Luther research in Germany today who are above all attempting to show that Luther and Barth are in basic agreement. In keeping with this, the attempt is made with the aid of remarkable textual distortions and techniques of interpretation to read the Barthian doctrine of law and gospel out of Luther's writings. They are at the same time engaged in polemics, often of an irrelevant nature, against those who do not hold the positions of Barth and Luther to be compatible at this point, and who cannot accept Barth's reduction of the doctrine of the law to a *tertius usus legis*. Thus W. Elert, who stressed the real dialectical antithesis between law and gospel and who made use of it in his own dogmatics and ethics, has been accused of having theological motives not much different from those of Marcion (see E. Wolf, RGG, 3rd edition, Vol. II, p. 1525). Because of the lack of good arguments, very cheap methods of theological labelling are employed and the fact that there are very good biblical and Reformation reasons for stressing the antithesis of law and gospel and for rejecting the *tertius usus legis* is consciously ignored.

The systematic standard of the author is thoroughly acceptable. Quite naturally a study which spans 150 years will leave something to be desired. At certain points someone else would draw the lines of the historical development of doctrine differently, might make a different selection and might render a different evaluation of certain theologians.

But these criticisms are relatively insignificant. On the whole this treatment by R. C. Schultz gives evidence of a noteworthy systematic ability, a good knowledge of the subject matter, and an immense achievement. His presentation of German theology in the 19th century deserves even more credit because this theology is a very complex thing which is very difficult to survey and which often evidences a "terminological muddle." That an American has dared to attempt such a difficult task and has accomplished it in such outstanding manner must be unconditionally acknowledged.

GOTTFRIED HORNIG

## Prenter's Dogmatics

*SCHÖPFUNG UND ERLÖSUNG. Dogmatik, Bd. I: Prolegomena. Die Lehre von der Schöpfung; Bd. II: Die Erlösung. German translation from the Danish by Christiane Boehncke-Sjöberg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958-59. 554 pp.*

It is certainly no bad omen for theology and dogmatics that complete systems of dogmatics are very seldom being published in our time. Therefore a great responsibility is laid upon the few which are printed, especially upon this one which is in the nature of a textbook. For this reason, this work by the Danish professor of dogmatics at the University of Aarhus, which has now been translated into German, deserves full recognition. It is concise and yet comprehensive, it is systematically organized and yet does not build a complete system, it is brilliantly written, and contains many original insights whose objective importance contributes greatly to the strength of the ideas therein.

Not the least among the factors contributing to its effectiveness is the fact that PRENTER has written a biblical dogmatics in the full sense of the word: "Dogma is the insight into God's way of saving lost mankind, which has been revealed in his word, is mediated through the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, and is formulated in the confessions used in the church's worship. Dogmatics is a critical study, which as a preparation for the actual proclamation of the gospel message, seeks to interpret the dogma of the church anew through continual reference to the witness of



Scripture, and with due consideration to the contemporary situation in which the gospel is being proclaimed." (Guiding principle in §1, p. 1.) "The interpretation of dogma is the task of dogmatics" (6). "The study of dogmatics involves a continual exchange with exegesis, and yet dogmatics is more than a mere repetition of exegesis. Dogmatics, namely, deals with the testimony of Scripture as it relates to the proclamation of the gospel being carried on today. Thus the study of dogmatics is concerned with the relevance of the biblical witness for our time." (172)

Prenter carries this approach so far on the other hand that he seems to shy away on principle from that which we would call a dogmatic system, from the question of the philosophy of religion and from philosophy and "metaphysics as though it were a form of idolatry." This is due to Prenter's "Barthianism" which results from his somewhat one-sided evaluation of Schleiermacher which is evident where the doctrine of the trinity is discussed (already in the Prolegomena) and at many other points in his dogmatics. Nevertheless, this attempt to consider the total state of theology and dogmatics since Barth and Bultmann from the Lutheran perspective dare not be held in contempt, even though the result, as a mixture of various dogmatic approaches, is not completely satisfactory. The weakest point is his fear of a system. This, certainly, is not merely a negative value, since Prenter is thereby saved from the danger of engaging in speculative theologizing. However, this does not give him sufficient freedom from the traditional forms of theologizing, although some of the main tenets of his theology and dogmatics have been very clearly expressed. This book repeatedly contains unique formulations of traditional Lutheran concepts, for example, the presentation of the '*ordo salutis*' (p. 426); even the outline of dogmatics as a whole (see below) is a somewhat unique systematical outline. Moreover, it could hardly be different if "the relevance of the biblical testimony" (172) and "dogmatics as the critical study which explains dogma after due consideration of its task as proclamation and the situation to which it is addressed" (381), is to find clear and relevant expression. Thus it would certainly not be helpful if a retreat to professional dogmatics were to take place within theology. It seems to me that Prenter, in certain of his main thoughts which recur again and again, has mastered the contempo-

rary situation in philosophy and the philosophy of religion. Among these are his thoughts on law and gospel (pp. 83-104), which he sees under the perspective of the *sola fide* in terms of the reality of the new man, and his thoughts on "renewal" in conjunction with *justus et peccator* (416 f.). These basic views of Luther, which are certainly seen here in relation to the contemporary spiritual situation, raise the question of the modern significance of Luther's theology, particularly after the many ecclesiastical aberrations in the form of the deviations in late orthodoxy, the pietistic and the psychological trends. Prenter particularly challenges the three-stage process "unconverted-awakened-converted," and in my opinion very convincingly presents the Lutheran doctrine of salvation in its two aspects, "the new man - the old man" (the man of faith - the man of unbelief") (423). Faith is "the only kind of a new life which can originate and grow as long as sin is still present; for faith is the sinner's pilgrimage from baptism to the grave in the hope of the resurrection" (419). "The progress, the growth of the new life does not mean that faith is followed by a different and more perfect type of righteousness (such as, for example, 'works' or 'love,' as in the Roman Catholic doctrine of '*fides caritate formata*'). Progress in the new life consists only in this, that everything which resists faith, all forms of self-righteousness, all of the aspirations and endeavors of the old man are continually being overcome until faith alone remains. Precisely the new man, who is *simul justus et peccator*, acknowledges the old man as being his own self and condemns him since he knows that there is no other possibility for life but the forgiveness of sins. In contrast, the old man is not '*simul justus et peccator*.' He is only *peccator* (in God's judgment), because he only wants to be *justus* (in his own judgment). If the new life is described as faith, then we are using the word in its widest sense to mean that the total life of man is lived under the word of forgiveness. This life of faith is the renewal, the re-establishment of the image of God in which man is created.... He, however, who possesses this perfect and sinless life in Christ, is himself not perfect and sinless. He is '*simul justus et peccator*.' He possesses the new, perfect and sinless life in Christ in the face of constant objection on the part of his old Adam.... The insight into the unity of reconciliation and renewal, which finds expres-



sion in the formula '*simul justus et peccator*,' is the basic intention of the Reformation doctrine of the justification by faith alone. Thus justification cannot be separated from renewal as a special stage in the order of salvation... Salvation consists in this, that faith in the reconciliation is continually being reactivated; salvation is characterized by justification" (p. 420). "The pietistic conception of the three stages in the order of salvation is an expression of a non-Reformation emphasis upon the freedom of human will in the relationship between God and man." (p. 424)

We have traced one special line of thought in this fundamental presentation of a Lutheran dogmatics in order to prove that Prenter understands dogma in the sense in which Luther intended. Why, however, does he neglect to set himself off from the suspicious developments of a Christology tinged with Barthianism? It is true that the core of a dogmatic is its treatment of Christology. In paragraph 31 "The Doctrine of Christology," by means of the two concepts, incarnation and reconciliation, which are very different but yet belong together, Prenter describes the central content of the Christian message as the unity of creation and redemption in Jesus Christ. This unique statement is a powerful one, it is *the* doctrine. He combines it immediately with his treatment of the doctrine of salvation. This he does under the perspective of the new creation. This combining of ideas under a central idea is good. The central idea here is renewal. Prenter should have completely carried through his systematic central ideas, another of which is "that the nature of man cannot be considered by itself alone, but only in relationship to his creator" (p. 231), in the first part of the book. His presentation of dogmatics in connection with the articles of the Augsburg Confession (cf. pp. 179 and 416) and his interpretation of the same, is indicative of a very selective and systematic way of thinking which Prenter sought to avoid in favor of a kerygmatic approach to dogmatics. But in doing so, he does not pay enough attention to the critical function of dogmatics, and the danger of a biblicistic history of salvation approach to dogma threatens. The fact that his dogmatics does not fall victim to this tendency is owed to that fact that he sees the whole material of Christian doctrine (although mention is made at the beginning of the resumption of the Loci method) as an objective and com-

prehensive whole. This is already evident in the double structure of his dogmatics into Creation (I) and Redemption (II) which is then further developed: "I.A. The God of Creation; B. The Man of Creation; II.A. The God of Redemption (Christology); B. The Man of Redemption. That this is more than a simple way of arranging the contents is shown by the concept "renewal" which occurs again and again in the titles under II.B: Redemption and Renewal; The Origin of Renewal (-Baptism); The Growth of Renewal (-Salvation); The Goal of Renewal (-the Lord's Supper: The Sacrificial Meal of the Fulfillment); The Fellowship of Renewal (-the Church); the Fruit of Renewal (-the Doctrine of the Last Things: "The Exaltation. 1. The Second Coming. 2. The Last Judgment. 3. Eternal Life"). The way in which "Eschatology" is related to the present (par. 35-39) here as well as to the fulfillment of renewal through the use of such words as "an eschatological sign" and "anticipation" is very unique. In Part I, the following sections are also very striking: "The Law of Creation" (Wrath); "The Gospel of Creation" (Providence); "The Image of God at the Creation"; "The Image of the World in the Creation." It must also be noted that the 40 paragraphs are preceded by preambles some of which describe and outline the entire contents of the sections which follow them.

The strength of Prenter's Dogmatics lies in the exegetical foundation upon which his particular presentation is based, as well as in the often brilliant outlines which trace the lines of development in the history of dogma. These two are already combined in the excursus to paragraph 1 "On Dogma and Dogmatics from the Perspective of Tradition and the New Testament." As an example of his attempts to base his theological presentation on exegesis, I cite paragraph 35: "The Biblical Witness to the Holy Spirit"; section 1 in paragraph 33: "The Resurrection," and particularly his reference to the theological content of a whole New Testament writing in paragraph 28: "The Apostolic Witness to Christ," pp. 307-309: Romans; pp. 309 f.: Corinthians; pp. 311 f.: the Johannine literature and his efforts at Old Testament exegesis, for example, in paragraph 21: "The Interpretation of the Biblical Story of the Fall," and paragraph 27: "Promise and Fulfillment." Here, however, Prenter cannot fully evade the history of salvation schema and the problems involved in it. The following sections are



excellent presentations of the history of dogma: Christology I and II, The Doctrine of Eschatology, Baptism, and paragraphs 29, 30, 31, and 36. Incidentally, they are carried out here, as elsewhere in the work, without quoting other sources.

The avoidance of so-called "erudition" in a work of such dependable scholarship enables it to serve not only as a good textbook for theological students, but also as a handbook for the interested layman. Since it was finished in 1955, it does not include the results of all of the latest theological research. Nevertheless, some of the literature references include works as late as 1958. Prenter should, however, revise certain individual sections which have to do with theological research on the continent. His critique of Bultmann and Schleiermacher should be revised, in the light of the more Lutheran positions taken by G. Ebeling and E. Fuchs.

Prenter's critique of Bultmann and Schleiermacher, which is to some extent justified, hangs together with his scruples against including temporal philosophical elements in theology. Because of this, the positive contributions which Bultmann and Schleiermacher have made to theology do not receive their full due. Just how Schleiermacher prepared the way even for Prenter to make the distinction between Ebionitism on the one hand and Docetism on the other as the two basic heresies in Christendom dare not be forgotten. Furthermore, it must be asked whether or not Schleiermacher, and Bultmann as well, have not had something important to say in regard to the claim as seen from the standpoint of the church that, according to Prenter, "a continual conflict rages between historical criticism and religious faith; a conflict which cannot be abandoned but which must be settled in the confrontation of faith with the philosophical presuppositions hidden in historical criticism" (p. 398, cf. p. 412). To the important problem of the "Limits of Christology," Prenter adds the remark that the "inevitability of this conflict... is a significant indication of the eschatological fulfillment" (p. 398). This is naturally no "cover" for all work in dogmatics. Human thought is always incomplete, especially in regard to metaphysics. However, theology and dogmatics dare not restrict themselves to hostility against metaphysics, so that they merely speak eschatologically, an approach which is customary today and which is evident throughout this work of Prenter. They are,

as regards the testimony to Christ, open to everything, wherever God has and still awakens faith. Theology and dogmatics, in so far as they are understood as the critical work of explaining the faith, are just as much in need of the checks which epistemology can provide as are any other kinds of reasoning. They are *determined*, certainly, by their subject, by God, God in Jesus Christ, and by faith, that is, by the fact that God inspires faith; they are determined by the nature of this faith. This does not mean that theology and dogmatics can isolate themselves from other statements of faith and can reject them because they are merely "a philosophical idea of God" (p. 399). Instead it means that it is their duty to remain open to all testimony to, and searching after, God, and to learn to distinguish where God really confronts us and where not. This is certainly a theological task, which goes far beyond the mere work in dogmatics which Prenter has undertaken, following the usual Danish division of studies into dogmatics and the philosophy of religion (p. VI). Prenter makes a significant contribution to the total field of theology, despite the limitations which he himself has set. However, it is certainly not good, particularly in the light of the total situation which confronts us, when the so-called basic questions of philosophy of religion, behind which the main questions concerning revelation are hidden, are not taken up by the dogmaticians. I know of no reason why a Lutheran theology should not deal with them.

Thanks are due to Mrs. Boehncke-Sjöberg for the accurate translation and to Günther Rupprecht for publishing this work in German. There are a few technical remarks: the index could have been more complete, for example, the "*Confessio Augustana*" which Prenter frequently cites as the model for his dogmatics (see pp. 179, 270, 416) is missing, as is the important catch-word "exercise" (pp. 450 and 494), and also '*Unio mystica*' (p. 468). The main place at which "awakening" occurs, p. 423, is not listed in the index. Quotations from Luther should include the reference to the Weimar Edition (missing on p. 471). Literature references such as "Harvey, II, p. 314" need to be expanded in order to enable the reader to understand them in order to refer to them.

HORST BEINTKER



## *Catholic Ecumenicity and Freedom of Religion*

UM DIE WIEDERVEREINIGUNG IM GLAUBEN. *Revised Edition. By Heinz Schütte. Essen: Fredebeul und Koenen KG, 1959. 192 pp.*

KATHOLISCHE EINHEIT UND AUGSBURGER KONFESSION. *By Max Lackmann. Graz: Verlag Styria, 1959. 224 pp.*

GESPRÄCH ZWISCHEN DEN KONFESSIONEN. *By Hans Asmussen and Thomas Sartory. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Bücherei, 1959. 223 pp.*

KLEINE KONZILIENGESCHICHTE. *Die zwanzig ökumenischen Konzilien im Rahmen der Kirchengeschichte. By Hubert Jedin. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder Bücherei, 1959. 142 pp.*

LUMIÈRE ET VIE. *Le Concile œcuménique. With contributions by P.-Th. Camelot, Yves Congar, Jean Bosc i.a. Lyons, Nov.-Dec., 1959. 45 pp.*

BEGEGNUNG DER CHRISTEN. *Studien evangelischer und katholischer Theologen. Ed. by Maximilian Roesle and Oscar Cullmann. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, and Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Josef Knecht Carolusdruckerei, 1959. 695 pp.*

ROMAN CATHOLICISM AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY. *By Carrillo De Albornoz. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1959. 95 pp. sfrs. 1.50.*

LEXIKON FÜR THEOLOGIE UND KIRCHE. *Founded by Dr. Michael Buchberger. Revised edition. Edited by Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner. Vol. IV: Faith and Order bis Hannibaldis. Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1960. 1351 pp.*

THE RIDDLE OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM. *By Jaroslav Pelikan. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1959. 271 pp.*

This past January a man passed away who, because of his efforts, was one of the most important founders of present-day Catholic ecumenicity: Father Lambert Beauduin. Mention of his name in this year, in which preparations are under way for the Ecumenical Council called by the Pope, recalls a, as it were, forgotten piece in the history of modern efforts toward church unity, namely, the Malines discussions. The learned Benedictine

monk, who at that time was a professor at the Roman Catholic college of his order at St. Anselmo, was the theological advisor to the famous Roman churchman, Cardinal Mercier, at the Malines discussions. Dom Beauduin is responsible for the statement that the Anglican Church should be united with the Roman Church, not absorbed by it. The Malines discussions ended in October, 1926, without result. In January, 1928, the encyclical "*Mortalium animos*" with its warning against "pan-Christianity" appeared. It said "no" to the ecumenical movement of that day and was perhaps, although Catholic students of ecumenics disagree, evoked by the Malines negotiations. However, the encyclical makes unmistakably clear that in conversations with the Roman Church there is no hope for possibilities of union on a church to church basis. The major emphasis in Catholic-Protestant encounters is no longer in church politics, but concentrates on a much more intimate realm, the realm of personal discipline and freedom in associations with Christians of other confessions: "Créer avant tout une atmosphère favorable à la compréhension et à l'estime mutuelles."<sup>1</sup>

The problem of unity is relinquished to the spiritual, the ascetic life: the monastery of Chevetogne, seeking to serve the cause of unity, and the theological journal *Irenikon* which was published there (since 1926), have contributed to the creation of a new ecumenical style in present-day Catholicism. This occurred only through the great sacrifices made in the face of suspicion and prejudice by the pioneers of Catholic ecumenicity. What has been accomplished owes its existence not to interconfessional strategy but to the efforts at calling the church anew to obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ. For this very reason, however, these endeavors are more than an inner-Catholic matter.

For western Christianity, the tragic element in all of these attempts at Protestant-Catholic understanding lies especially in the fact that spirit and church order no longer seem to correspond to one another. Catholics and Protestants both detect that they have reached a border beyond which lies a threatening abyss; for the Protestants the abyss of autonomy; for the Catholics that of an order which is no longer characterized by the spirit and its

<sup>1</sup> Dom Lambert Beauduin in *Irenikon*, 1930, pp. 394 f. Quoted from D. O. Rousseau, "In memoriam: Dom Lambert Beauduin (1873-1960)", *Irenikon*, 1960, p. 11.



freedom. As Protestants we all have reason to seek the rock on which the church is built, even though Peter need not necessarily be that rock, as in one particular interpretation of Scripture and tradition. All of us as Christians must accept the fact in a particular way that our statements against liberalism make us bad rather than good partners so long as we put some kind of a system in its place instead of the freedom to which Christ has called us.

An expert in canonical law such as Joseph Klein may possibly, to a certain extent, be right in saying that the readiness to enter into ecumenical discussions arises "out of the inability of ecclesiastical legalism to deal with modern secular developments." From this follows the demand that "all who call themselves Christians... must take up anew the way of proclaiming and realizing the gospel by their living witness."<sup>2</sup> The question now is, where is this "new way" to take hold? With the problems raised by modern biblical criticism? With a re-interpretation of the Reformation? With a clarification of the basic doctrinal concepts? With pronouncements on piety or worship? With a new Catholic doctrine of infallibility or with Mariology?

HEINZ SCHÜTTE deserves credit for having performed a real labor of love in having gathered and studied the many evidences of agreement between Catholic and Protestant doctrine, especially on controversial points, regardless whether they deal with official dogmas or theological opinions. Thus his book is a really fertile textbook of all that has been said and done "towards the reunion in faith."

It is no wonder that a new and expanded edition of this book, which first appeared in 1958, was published in 1959. The later edition contains added positions taken in the meantime by some of the Protestant theologians who are quoted. Schütte deals with themes which have almost become classic in the *Una Sancta* movement: the religious and historical judgment on the Reformation, the doctrine of justification, the relationship between Scripture, church and the office, the papacy and the veneration of Mary and the saints. Actually this represents something of a

conclusion to the *Una Sancta* discussion, a conclusion and a final limit to this possibility. The exegetical statements of Cullmann on the position of Peter in the New Testament are very significant, and the stimulus which they have given to theology as a whole are equally so. Nevertheless, they are only of limited value to our endeavors to achieve the concreteness of the Christian church, and it is a mistake to believe that the inter-confessional debate must be carried on at this point or that certain theological opinions, which certainly deserve respect as such, must be taken as especially representative of Protestant theology. To do so leads to an eclecticism which seeks the various parts with which to reconstruct a given whole. Thus the *Una Sancta* becomes one among many ways to dream about the "church of tomorrow," as everyone does who is unhappy about the church of today. And who isn't? Particularly when we take seriously the words of Jesus in the high-priestly prayer, the unity of the church should become more than a pious wish. It is essential that we do not give up the historical traditions of our churches, that neither the 17th, the 18th or the 19th centuries are erased from church history. The "*satis est*" of the Augsburg Confession with its rejection of traditions, rites and ceremonies, has had the greater effect upon these centuries and not those many other things about early Lutheranism which, in comparison to today, seem so "catholic." Now certainly the past should not be taken as a norm, but it must unfortunately be admitted that that which has happened in the course of history cannot be easily corrected even by means of the most respectable norms.

Perhaps the method which MAX LACKMANN proposes in the concluding chapter of his new book might be of further help. Starting with the point at which the church divided, he seeks to define the particularly non-Catholic element on both sides "out of which the thoughts, life, arguments, attacks and defenses arose, so that the Catholic Christian... the sub-Catholic or even anti- and a-Catholic elements appeared and consciously tore apart those things which belonged together in the church" (p. 148). This is not only an interesting historical question for Lackmann the Lutheran, and for us also, but it could be a help in the contemporary ecumenical discussion, without the guilt of the past being thereby evaded.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Klein: "Was trennt uns heute von den Katholiken?", *Ev. Theologie*, 1960, Vol. 2, p. 67.



Two books of further aid in the ecumenical discussion must be briefly mentioned and recommended. The first is *Gespräch zwischen den Konfessionen*, by HANS ASMUSSEN and THOMAS SARTORY in the Fischer-Bücherei, the other is the short history of the councils by HUBERT JEDIN. The discussion between Sartory and Asmusen, in which both assume the role of "reporters," relates Protestant (more precisely, Lutheran, which means the statements of the Confessional books) and Catholic doctrines to the basic truths of the Christian faith: anthropology, Christology, the doctrine of the church. The material is arranged in 15 chapters with a foreword, but more goes on than mere reporting; value judgments about contemporary things are also made which are often quite subjective. This is unavoidable in this case, because both authors themselves underscore the basic incommensurability of that which they want to compare, in their forewords. Whoever has read this book would like to know what the next step is. This, however, must take place on a new level. The main distinction between Protestant and Catholic theology is not the fact that only the Catholic theologian carries on theology "in regard to the Catholic Church and her teaching office" (Sartory, p. 12). It belongs to the nature of theology that she be carried on in regard to the doctrine, or what amounts to the same thing, the preaching of the church; otherwise it would be philology or history or mere speculation. Theology aims at statements which are authoritative in character. Every Christian knows how great the need is, due to the almost general lack of this authoritative character today. It can not be met by ecclesiastical law. It is much more the place at which we are called to a new obedience. It would be much better if our conversations issued from such obedience, rather than our merely exchanging biblical insights with one another, insights which we have gathered here and there. Despite all of our joy that the separated brethren are drawing closer to one another, it is still our wish that the church, despite all these conversations over the fence, should not fail to reflect upon God's purpose in sending it into the world. The fact that the preparations for the Council increasingly understand ecumenicity in this sense can only be greeted as a healthy development. This belongs to the nature and manner of the history of the councils just as much as do the many human elements—the all too human elements. Read this little book by Hubert

Jedin, who has an extraordinary knowledge of this history. Along with this, one should read Volume 45 of the magazine *Lumière et Vie* which is dedicated to the council, and in particular what YVES CONGAR has to say about "the council and the others." The most promising way to overcome the objections and differences between the churches can only lie in the obedient reflection over one's own history and mission.

In this respect the book edited by MAXIMILIAN RÖSLE, professor at the theological school of the Benedictine Abbey at Einsiedeln and OSCAR CULLMANN, presently dean of the theological faculty at Basel, is especially fruitful for the ecumenical movement. It is a dedicatory volume (*Begegnung der Christen*) for Otto Karrer on the occasion of his 70th birthday. Karrer has done much for the ecumenical movement. His life was that of an ecumenical pioneer just as Beauduin's was. In the very fine autobiographical chapter in this book, he merely hints at the heartaches and sacrifices which he had to bear, just as did his Belgian brother. The 17 themes in this book are dealt with by both a Protestant and a Catholic writer, except for the chapter on present-day church law in the Orthodox Church, which was written by the professor of ecclesiastical law at Munich, K. Mörsdorf, and the essay on the Reformation as seen by the Reformers, written by the Protestant Schulmann, who has since died, in collaboration with Karl Hindt. The unusual feature of this work is that the Protestant side is represented by both Reformed and Lutheran authors. This is due to the fact that the influence of Otto Karrer extended throughout Southern Germany and Switzerland. Furthermore, the authors represent all areas of Christian life, from the professor of theology to the parish pastor. This lends a certain color to the essays and gives the book a freshness which contrasts with the somewhat hackneyed *Una Sancta* style. Finally, the themes are not meant as great systems, but merely to give something like "an ecumenical moral," something which von Allmen calls for in the light of the call to unity and our empirical disunity. For instance, much has really been done in this area which is only incidentally mentioned in this book (such as Reinhard Mumm's essay, which contains a very valuable register of the publications which have issued from conferences between leading Protestant and Catholic theologians). This ecumenical



anthology, more than almost any other book, shows forth the possibilities and also the limitations of our divided existence as a church, and in its best essays it shows how to deal with both.

It is above all peculiar that the theme "freedom" plays so minor a role today in discussions by both Catholics and Protestants. If you look for it in the index to the Cullmann-Roesle book, it can be found but its main treatment is given in Wilhelm Andersen's essay on the reform of the theological study program. Certainly it belongs there, but it also belongs at many other places. A book on *Roman Catholicism and Religious Liberty* by CARILLO DE ALBORNOZ, who really knows his subject from the inside, has recently been issued by the World Council of Churches. It shows how fervently the topic of "freedom" is being discussed today in Catholic circles, and how hard it is to break away from the old pattern of "thesis" (prohibition of all non-Catholic error, wherever possible) and "hypothesis" (toleration of error as a lesser evil, when this is the only alternative) in present day discussions among Catholics. The distinction between "thesis" and "hypothesis" obviously derives from statements made in the Jesuit bi-weekly *La Civiltà Cattolica* in 1863. These statements are being attacked from some quarters, however this differentiation between principle and practice appears in the formal pronouncements of Leo XIII. Carillo quotes Catholic spokesmen who take these statements as the final word of the church and who do not hold it possible "to advocate doctrines which are not completely in harmony with the 'Syllabus' of Pius IX and the encyclical 'Libertas' of Leo XIII" (Instructions of the Conference of the Spanish Bishops, May 28, 1948, quoted by Carillo, p. 60). On the other hand, the popes of the 20th century have talked differently from those of the 19th, though in the meantime there have been "no official and decisive pronouncements by the highest Roman Catholic hierarchy in support of religious freedom" (p. 77). A "theology of religious freedom is one of the main tasks of contemporary theology," says Roger Aubert (p. 77). Who could doubt that such a work would have extraordinary consequences for the future relationships between the churches!

Thus one turns with a great deal of intellectual curiosity to the fourth volume of the

*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* which has just been published and which contains the major portion of "F" and part of "H." But under "Freedom of religion," we are referred to "Freedom of conscience" and "Tolerance," both of which in our opinion are entirely different things. Nevertheless, under "freedom of conscience" we find the, in this context, positive position taken in the encyclical 'Immortale Dei': no one can force another person to accept the Catholic faith against his will. For the faithful, however, "to call upon the conscience in contrast to the teaching office of the church is an inner contradiction." Despite the chorus of Catholic voices which Carillo De Albornoz quotes, hasn't a great deal been left unsaid? Moreover, the fourth volume of the great encyclopedia is a virtual mine of information for those Protestant theologians interested and participating in ecumenical discussions. It contains concepts which have played a part in inter-confessional discussions for more than 400 years: righteousness, law, faith, grace, God (image of God and proofs of God). Whoever studies this book intensively is surprised to see all that binds us to our separated brethren.

HANS BOLEWSKI

This volume, written by the Missouri Lutheran professor of historical theology at the University of Chicago, has been described by Father Gustav Weigel, who is perhaps better informed about Protestant theology than any other American Roman Catholic, as "probably the best current Protestant exposition of Roman Catholicism" (in *America*, Sept. 12, 1959, pp. 693-6).

It is easy to see why he should think so, for we have here a treatment of the totality of Roman Catholicism from a perspective as open and sympathetic as is consistent with a firm commitment to Reformation Christianity. This comprehensiveness distinguishes this book from the equally sympathetic *One in Christ* by Prof. Skydsgaard (previously reviewed). In an initial, historical section, Pelikan explains the way in which "Christianity became Catholic," then Roman, and finally, in the West, split into Protestantism and post-Tridentine Romanism. A second section describes doctrinal and practical ecclesiology, church-state relations, the sacraments, Mariology, Thomism, and the liturgical revival;



while the final part of the book deals with Protestant relations to Rome.

The whole work is informed by a conviction which Prof. Pelikan shares with the authors of the recent *Die Katholizität der Kirche* (previously reviewed): "Protestantism needs Rome and Rome needs Protestantism" (212). In other words, both confessions have departed from true Christian catholicity. In at least one respect, Pelikan is more "catholic" than are the German authors, for he believes that Thomism, although in many ways defective, does in part exemplify a proper Christian concern for the development of "A Comprehensive World View" (227 ff.); but, with this one exception, his presentation is a more unified, balanced and moderate version of the general theme of *Die Katholizität der Kirche*. In short, we have here a sort of summary statement of the best irenic, and yet confessional, Protestant thinking about Roman Catholicism.

Nevertheless, this book does have serious faults. Perhaps the gravest is one for which America, rather than Prof. Pelikan, is responsible. It is so difficult to get strictly scholarly (*wissenschaftliche*) theological works published in the United States that Prof. Pelikan has adopted the common, but fatal, device of trying to write simultaneously for both a popular and a learned audience. There is much here that is simply journalistic in, I am afraid, the bad sense of the word. For example, the very first sentence reads, "Can a Roman Catholic be a loyal President of the United States?" There are other sections which will be simply incomprehensible to the ordinary readers without his realizing, perhaps, that they are incomprehensible. And yet these sections will not satisfy the theological reader for they strive unsuccessfully for a kind of simplicity which is out of place.

Some examples of this over-simplification should be mentioned. The Roman doctrine of justification is identified with the Tridentine so that a reader would not guess that treatments such as that of Küng (See LW, V., 94-7) are possible. Further, the Tridentine position is described simply as maintaining salvation by "faith and works" (52). In discussing Thomism, the crucial distinction between modern existentialism and the existentialism of the *actus essendi* is not made (154-5). No hint is given of the tensions in Roman theology over Mariology (128-142). In these, and many similar points, Prof. Pelikan appears to have erred, not because of

ignorance, but because of his attempt to address two quite different audiences.

Father Weigel mentions still another fault of this, as well as other Protestant treatments of Roman Catholicism. It ignores what Roman Catholics believe is the center of their faith and practice, viz., their understanding of Jesus Christ. As a result, despite Pelikan's fairness and sympathy, they cannot recognize themselves in his descriptions. He has failed in his attempt to explain Roman Catholicism to Protestants because he has concentrated on the more obvious differences between the confessions without examining the Christological heart of Christianity in which all Christians are most closely united and yet also, perhaps, in a sense ultimately divided.

This last comment, however, is not so much a criticism of Prof. Pelikan's book as a plea for going beyond the present stage of controversial writing which it, in many respects, so ably summarizes.

GEORGE A. LINDBECK

## *An Ecumenical Lexicon*

WELTKIRCHENLEXIKON. *Handbuch der Ökumene, im Auftrag des Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchentages. Edited by Franklin H. Littell and Hans Hermann Walz. Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1960.*

Whoever picks up this *Weltkirchenlexikon*<sup>1</sup>, sceptical whether such an undertaking was really necessary in view of the contemporary flood of lexicons, will discover for himself at first glance how the original scepticism gradually gives way to a lively interest in this publication. This leads involuntarily to the next question: why didn't an ecumenical handbook of such a kind appear long ago?

First of all, lexicons are superior and preferable means of orientation in our world. And what more valuable subject is there, about which modern Christendom should be better informed and better oriented than ever before, than the ecumenical church? If

<sup>1</sup> The *Weltkirchenlexikon* appeared at the beginning of 1960, and numbers almost 900 pages.



knowledge about the ecumenical world is relatively weak within German Christianity, the fault might be partly due to the previous lack of such a work. Mere appeals, occasional speeches, press reports, news releases and pamphlets concerning ecumenical conferences are of little help as long as basic education in the subject itself lags so far behind. Here the *Weltkirchenlexikon* fulfills a task which cannot be valued highly enough.

As the foreword states, this lexicon is not meant for professional theologians alone, but for "everyone of an alert mind, who discusses the underlying issues of our day. It is particularly indispensable to all those who, as members of their church, have anything at all to do with Christians of other lands and confessions. For this reason as little as possible is taken for granted...."

A good rule of thumb for evaluating a lexicon is that its practical use and value are dependent upon the following factors:

- a) the expert knowledge and scholarship of the contributors and advisors;
- b) the selection of terms and themes emphasized;
- c) the proportions of the articles and the number of cross references;
- d) how well supplied it is with visual material, as well as its format.

a) A study of the *Weltkirchenlexikon*, keeping our rule of thumb in mind, shows a grand total of 425 contributors from all over the world. Only a third of the authors are German. Although the relationship between the actual work done on the lexicon is not directly proportionate to the number of contributors, since the majority of the theological articles, in the narrower sense of the word, and of the particularly significant terms have been written by Germans, the very selection of authors and advisors shows that this is a "united endeavor of international cooperation and ecumenical fellowship." It is certainly not too much to say that the *Weltkirchenlexikon* represents an ecumenical event.

The guiding principle seems to have been that no one should write "about" a subject, but that every author should give an account of his subject in as precise a way as possible. This guiding principle was behind the selection of the authors chosen to write the 130-odd national articles which comprise the backbone of the lexicon: a Dane writes an article on Denmark, an Indian on Kashmir, a Greek

on Greece—this principle is also operative in regard to many of the theological articles. For example, the article on "Hierarchy" could have been written by someone well versed in inter-denominational studies. The editors, however, approached the topic in this way: they asked an Anglican bishop (Stephen C. Neill, formerly of South India, now in Geneva), a Russian Orthodox professor of theology (L. A. Zander, Paris) and a German Benedictine (Laurentius Klein, Treves) each to write an article developing the topic from the perspective of his church. Thus in the *Weltkirchenlexikon* truly representative spokesmen of the churches appear in print, even of those churches which up till now have remained outside the World Council of Churches. The authors have been left relatively free to write along their own lines. Though the lexicon to some extent gains color thereby, it loses something of its unity. This is one result which must be accepted.

b) The lexicon deals with 1200 terms. Naturally they vary in importance and extent. Therefore the question concerning the thematic emphases must be raised. These are easily ascertainable just by paging through the lexicon. It is self-understood that this lexicon, which bears the sub-title *Handbuch der Ökumene* (Ecumenical Handbook), should see the presentation of the doctrine and life of the individual churches and brotherhoods and the description of the ways, motivations and organizational forms of the ecumenical movement as its essential task. This is ideally done as was shown above. Thus a great deal of space is given to historical and dogmatic topics, for only through them is the contemporary situation of Christianity in this world understandable.

Here for the first time a mass of material about the ecumenical movement, the churches which participate in it and those which maintain their distance, such as was only available to very few specialists up till now, is brought together. In any case it is beyond the bounds of a book review to do more than to give an insight into this material. The reader might well begin with the ideally accurate and precise article by Visser 't Hooft on the topic "Ecumenical" and then work his way through the various key terms. At one and the same time he will be surprised at the scope of the material offered here and frightened by the fact that his own picture of Christianity is basically so narrow and provincial.



Another important aspect—which is closely connected with that described above—is the inclusion of almost 130 articles about the various countries. These were edited by F. H. LITTELL. Following short geographical descriptions, they give information about the history of Christianity in the independent countries of the earth. (Since the number of independent countries is continually on the increase, this selection will soon be out of date. It is inaccurate already, just five months after publication of the lexicon. Thus, for example, the West-African countries of Ghana, Liberia and Sierra-Leone were reported on, but not Guinea, which has been much in the news of late.) Each article contains a geographical sketch which enables the reader to see the relationship of a given state to its continent as a whole. These 130-odd reports from various lands constitute a very complete history of the church throughout the world. Furthermore they are well supplemented by the comprehensive articles on the continents (Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, North America, etc.).

The *Weltkirchenlexikon* has not been afraid to devote essential space to the timely international problems which exercise such a profound influence upon the life of the church and the work of the ecumenical movement. Everything which is "timely" in a lexicon tends to date it, since it must soon give way to new problems which step into the foreground. This was certainly a difficult matter for the editor, neither to slip into historiography, nor to aim mistakenly at concentrating on the present. It appears to us that the correct middle way has been found. What is written about atomic weapons, disarmament, co-existence, industrialization, and responsible parenthood can in no way be regarded as a mere adjunct. International questions which Christianity dare not ignore are brought up here. Besides they have a certain integrating effect on the ecumenical movement. The reviewer looked in vain for the topic "Development Aid," with respect to "Lands Under Development." Why this term was not included is not quite clear to him. In the case of missing terms, the index at the end is of further help.

Finally, attention must be called to such theological concepts as "Holy Communion," "Law and Gospel," the "Word of God," "Grace," "Hermeneutics," "Christ's Person and Work." Here the theologian cannot expect too much, because the *Weltkirchen-*

*lexikon* is primarily aimed at the so-called layman (moreover, there is an excellent article by H. H. WALZ on the layman), who is interested above all in readability, comprehensiveness and a straightforward presentation of the subject. The article "Contemporary Theological Trends" must be seen in this perspective because there is much that the theologian will find lacking.

On the whole, one can agree with the selection of key-words and the emphasis placed upon them. It would certainly be unique if there were no differences of opinion between the editors and the reviewers. It is, indeed, not clear why the Apostle Paul, who is certainly the father of ecumenicity much more than is Peter, comes off so empty-handed. The index also makes up for this. Indeed, many of the contributions are simply "too German." Shouldn't articles on "Agende," "Church Year" and "Opening the Church" have included material from other parts of the ecumenical world? Can "Inner Missions," as it is dealt with here, be considered an exclusively German affair? Doesn't this word have a specific usage in the northern Lutheran churches (as can be seen in the article on Denmark)? Shouldn't the attempt have been made to include those forms which correspond to the "Inner Missions" in Germany?

Now, if we follow the rule of thumb stated at the beginning, the system of cross references and the visual material remain to be investigated.

c) An analytical-alphabetical structure belongs irrevocably to the nature of a lexicon. This means that subjects which actually belong together must be separated, for the sake of the principle according to which they are arranged. This weakness can often be compensated for through the general survey articles. The *Weltkirchenlexikon* makes ample use of this method. Attention must be called here to the article on "Attempts at Unity," which covers 19 columns, as well as those on "The Ancient Church," "The Middle Ages," "The Reformation," "The Modern Age" and the "World Council of Churches." Another means of relating the various topics to one another is by way of cross references in the text and a comprehensive topical index. A great deal has been done along this line, but some things are left to be desired. For example, in the article on "Hierarchy" which has already been mentioned, it should be immediately evident that supplementary



information can be found under the terms "Succession" and "Office." The uninitiated will only hit upon these with great difficulty; the term "succession" does not even occur in the Orthodox and Roman Catholic essays under "Hierarchy." Furthermore, one gets the impression that the editors were under the pressure of a deadline. Just one example, to which many more could be added: under "Spirit-Jesus-Church," a small sectarian community in Japan can be found, quite by chance, although it constitutes an interesting, instructive, and by no means a short article! This fellowship is not mentioned at all in the article on Japan, although it is given as an example of a Japanese Christian sect.

One thing more must be said: the literature references should have been better edited. To be sure, the reader is warned (column 1759/60) that the literature references are not meant to be comprehensive, but they should nevertheless have been chosen with a more unified scheme in view. They are frequently very dependent upon the background of the compiler. An example, which holds true for other instances as well, is that there are no literature references for the "United Nations." The literature references for the article on "Proclamation" are all German, and those for "Reason" are almost all French.

d) The very generous provision of pictures and visual materials deserves unqualified praise. The charts on the history of the ecumenical movement and the organizational framework of the World Council of Churches immediately provide the uninformed with an excellent general survey and the many pictures (for example, church buildings in Asia and Africa, worship services of the various confessions in the history of the ecumenical movement) lend liveliness and attractiveness to the lexicon. While adults read the articles, children will be attracted by the pictures. Rephrasing the famous statement of the Smalcald Articles concerning the church, one can say of whatever family where this *Weltkirchenlexikon* is found "a child of seven knows, praise God," what the word "ecumenical" means.

In May, the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, Dr. Visser 't Hooft, said that the demand of the hour for world Christianity is not more information about the ecumenical church but a change of heart. This is certainly true. Whoever critically analyzes modern man's need for information, perhaps with the assistance of Ries-

man's analysis, will see clearly the danger that much information is merely consumed but does not effect any real change in the hearts of men. And yet the supplying of information should not be under-estimated. (To avoid misunderstanding, it should be said that Visser 't Hooft did not intend to infer this.) Without information the transformation of the heart in regard to ecumenicity is impossible. It is a necessary presupposition. However, we shall have to go one step further. Whoever studies the *Weltkirchenlexikon* carefully cannot pass it off as merely an exotic display. It is obviously a work which calls us to repentance and rejoicing.

Thus a debt of gratitude is due the German Evangelical *Kirchentag* for having commissioned this delightful work. The two editors, F. H. Littell and Hans Hermann Walz, both of whom have informed themselves as thoroughly as possible about ecumenical matters, have presented Christianity with an excellent work.

MARTIN KRUSE

A THEOLOGY OF THE LAITY. By Hendrik Kraemer. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 192 pp.

Probably no Christian leader of the world has given more thought to the problem and significance of the laity in the Christian church than has Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, and this book, therefore, containing the lectures at Cambridge University and at New College, Edinburgh, has high importance. In it are many ideas familiar to those who have known and worked with Dr. Kraemer over the years. It is a contribution of the first order that they are now put in print.

It is a book of peculiar interest to this reviewer. When the first meeting of the World Council of Churches was held in Amsterdam in 1948, he was the chairman of a sub-committee on "The Significance of the Laity" and Dr. Kraemer was its secretary. In the first interchange of correspondence Dr. Kraemer stated without equivocation that the "problem of the laity is a theological problem." Ten years later, with equal conviction and even greater force, he is saying the same words. He is insisting that the church simply cannot continue its present dividedness of clergy and laity if it hopes to fulfill its divine mission.



"Everywhere in the world," he writes in the early pages of the book, "there is evident, in many churches, a new outburst of lay participation and activity or, at least, a growing concern about it.... This book is written from the conviction that all this new activity, experiment and searching, which in so many respects evokes much gratitude and joy, will ultimately fail if it has no lasting and serious theological foundation."

The solid meat of the book is in the final two of the six chapters. The earlier chapters are largely, in Dr. Kraemer's own words, pragmatic and historical. They rapidly and cogently review much of the activity of lay participation, training, and concern over a wide area of the church. A great share of this came under Dr. Kraemer's direct observation. Dr. Kraemer's knowledge of the situation in the American church, however, is necessarily shallow and suffers from the usual European misapprehension that Americans simply do not have a feeling or concern for theology. Whatever the American churches have done, therefore, in the matter of the laity, he dismisses as "pragmatically" motivated rather than theologically. His most disastrous mistake is to quote a passage from Will Herberg that reports that "four-fifths of adult Americans said they believed the Bible to be the 'revealed word of God'"<sup>1</sup>... yet when these same Americans were asked to give the "names of the first four books of the New Testament, 53 per cent could not name even one."<sup>2</sup> This is sheer nonsense, both as to the meaning of the reported polls and the reported follow-up. Hendrik Kraemer is really too wise to be caught with such nonsense on his person. It's counterfeit.

But to go to the really important chapters; here is the crystallization of his "theology of the laity," clearly and forcefully enunciated and here is the call for a "radical Reformation of the Church... probably more radical than the Reformation of the sixteenth century.... In any such a Reformation the laity has to play a decisive role." What is said here should shock the church out of its normal complacency. It is nothing less than the fearless demand that the Church rethink its whole

purpose and, especially, the place of its laity in it.

The basic contentions of Dr. Kraemer are these:

1. God is concerned about the world, the whole world. "The whole of mankind is in God's view.... Consequently the Church does not primarily exist on behalf of itself, but on behalf of the world." This elementary truth, says Kraemer, gets ready assent but it is nevertheless absent in the Church. The Church is "self-centered." "The interest in the world is at best a side issue."
2. The Church is Mission. Kraemer insists that this is quite different from saying that the Church has a missionary task. This effort to make a distinction between the two concepts smacks of some of the theological cobweb spinning that often weakens theological writing. He makes his meaning of the missionary compulsion of the Church clear enough, however, as he goes along: "The Church is the community of the sent...." "She is sent to and into the world." This includes all the members, ministry and laity.
3. The Church is Ministry. Here again there is verbal quibbling. "The Church is ministry and therefore has ministries!" And then comes the confusion against which some of us attempted to fight at Evanston, the use of the phrase "the ministry of the laity." There is nothing wrong with the idea of the serving aspect of the laity, but the word "ministry" has so long been used as a term for the clergy, especially in America, that it simply cannot be used more broadly without muddying the thinking of those most deeply concerned about the laity. Even Dr. Kraemer becomes confused as he writes about it in different parts of his book. Finally, however, Dr. Kraemer fastens on the word "diakonia" and he is out of the fog. "This diakonia manifests itself in word and deed." "All Christians are diakonia, ministers, called to a ministry." "The ministry of the ordained clergy and the ministry of the laity are both aspects of the same diakonia...." His discussion of diakonia is fruitful. One wishes with him that this word could be restored

<sup>1</sup> Herberg, in foot-notes, explains that the first was part of a public opinion survey by an independent commercial company, discussed in the *Catholic Digest*, from 1952 to 1954. Every such survey is a sampling of opinion from which deductions are made, but "four-fifths of adult Americans" obviously did not participate.

<sup>2</sup> Another company made the second survey. Obviously the same people were not involved.



to its rich original meaning of service, but unfortunately here, too, one is confronted with such long use in other directions as to probably make a change impossible.

4. The church is diakonia. Diakonia is rooted in the person of Christ. "It follows then that, theologically speaking, the ministry of the laity is as constituent for the true meaning of the Church as the ministry of the 'ministry' (the office-bearers or clergy)." The last part of this sentence, by the way, is clear evidence of the extremes to which one must go in order to avoid confusion with "the ministry of the laity."
5. The Church is the people of God, "laos, an elect race, composed of people out of all nations, transcending all nations and races." One essential factor, says Dr. Kraemer, must be added; the Church is also the expectant people of God. The laity are seen, in respect to the ekklesia, as having the same calling, responsibility and dignity as the ordained ministry. Here is the nub of the theology and here the proposition to which the Church will give some consent but which, one suspects, it will seldom actually practice. Yet this is the principle for which Dr. Kraemer has fought most vigorously and valiantly through the past decade.

The final chapter of the book, headed simply, "Postlude," is likewise highly interesting and meaningful. It is a kind of deep-toned summary. "The laity," he emphasizes, "its place, its responsibility, its ministry, is as essential an aspect of the Church as that of the clergy. "... The laity should never be appealed to with the request to be so kind and willing as to help the Church... but simply on the basis of what they are by the nature and calling of Christ's Church as the 'people of God' sent into the world for witness and service. The peculiar position of the laity is that, living and moving in the context of the day-to-day world... they have to affirm their divinely-ordained part as members of the Church, in an ever new decision of first loyalty to the Uppermost Master." This, Dr. Kraemer insists again, demands a revision of the structure of the Church, especially if the laity are to be leaders in the "dialogue with the world" in which they both talk to and listen to the world. Real dialogue is mutual

communication. The directives for this "self-revision" of the Church are these, writes Dr. Kraemer:

1. There must be a new form of fellowship and community to express the fact that the Church is a Christocratic fraternity.
2. The laity must be given a greater participation in the "worship... teaching... and ruling of the Church."
3. A great flexibility and readiness for decentralization is required.
4. A total rethinking of the relevance of the Christian message to the present world is demanded, as well as a new, relevant Christian ethic.

Here then is a theology of the laity. It is a book deserving study, debate and action. Dr. Kraemer does not pretend it is complete or final. But it is foundational. It should have the close attention of the theologians in our seminaries and universities; it should commend itself to the thinking of church leaders. For the time is certainly here, as he suggests, when the whole question must be considered seriously if the church is to make use of one of its greatest potentials, its lay members.

Potential, one must agree, is a right word for the laity. Power it ought to be, but is not. Dr. Kraemer stresses again, with full truth, that the "laity, the ordinary membership of the Church, is to a great extent ignorant and spiritually illiterate." And again, "The laity, generally speaking, feels itself spiritually powerless and illiterate as to its witness." No one who has worked with the laity can refute such statements. The theologians and the pastors of our churches must seek ways of educating the laity to a full knowledge of the Church and its fundamental theology. The present potential can be turned into delivered power, if the Church really cares. The laity can be, Dr. Kraemer writes, "The spearhead of the Church and not its hesitant rearguard."

The book suffers from the fact that Dr. Kraemer is writing directly in English, which is not his own tongue. This leads to some clumsiness of expression which certainly is not unexpected nor unusual under such circumstances. It suffers, too, in that it is an outline rather than a fully developed thesis. And as indicated earlier, there is always the difficulty when an author attempts to cover the church of the entire world and reveals that there are large areas with which he is not familiar. Each nation has a characteristic culture; each nation has a church that is



likewise characteristic of that culture. Dr. Kraemer knows the European churches well; he is on thinnest ice when he deals with the church in America. But even an American finds it difficult to deal with the diversities of church life in his own country and can easily excuse one who attempts it from the outside.

In summary, Dr. Kraemer accomplished what he set out to do. It is, therefore, a book that will set many hearts and minds to the task of reappraising the part of the laity in the church. It needed to be written. Good that it was Dr. Kraemer who undertook the task.

CLARENCE C. STOUGHTON

## Prayer Books for Family Devotions

VERTRAU GOTT ALLEIN. *Prayers of Duke Albrecht von Preussen*. Ed. by Erich Roth. Würzburg: Hölzner Verlag, 1956. 204 pp.

HERZ UND HERZ VEREINT ZUSAMMEN. *Prayers of Count Zinzendorf*. Ed. by Walter Ludwig. Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf Verlag, 1958. 80 pp.

HERR, LEHRE UNS BETEN. *Prayers for the Christian home, morning prayers for every day of the church year*. Ed. by Heinrich Riedel. Munich: Claudius Verlag, 1st edition, 1952. 504 pp.

HERR, BLEIBE BEI UNS. *Prayers for the Christian home, evening prayers for every day of the church year*. Ed. by Heinrich Riedel. Munich: Claudius Verlag, 2nd edition, 1956. 440 pp.

ALLGEMEINES EVANGELISCHES GEBETBUCH FÜR DIE KIRCHE, IHRE GEMEINDEN, WERKE UND VERBÄNDE, FÜR DIE FAMILIE UND FÜR DIE STILLEN STUNDEN DES EINZELNEN. By Hermann Greifenstein, Hans Hartog, Frieder Schulz. Hamburg: Furche Verlag, 1955. 503 pp.

HERR, DA BIN ICH. By Michael Quoist. *Prayers translated into German by Ludwig Reichenpfader*. Graz: Styria Verlag, 13th edition, 1959. 184 pp.

At the First International Congress for Luther Research (in August 1956, at Aarhus) the church historian from Heidelberg, Heinrich Bornkamm, made a statement in regard to the contemporary German Luther research which is characteristic of other areas as well. He said that we are "in danger of losing the man Luther in our concern with Luther's theology. Although many are engaged in investigating his theology in its minutest details, few today explore his life and his personality."<sup>1</sup>

This over-emphasis on systematic and systematizing theological research has also been partly responsible for the decline of interest in studies of the history of piety in the German language. Modifying this quote of Bornkamm's slightly, we could say that in our preoccupation with the theological thought of a given period, we are in danger of losing sight of its life and its piety. Both of these, however—theology in the narrower sense and devotional works—belong closely together, even when they stand in a seemingly strong contrapuntal relationship to one another.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the state of research on devotional literature it is surprising that the comprehensive, solid and cautiously begun work of Paul Althaus, Sr., which was planned first of all to contain a bibliography of Protestant devotional literature in the German language since the Reformation, was never continued after his death in 1925.<sup>3</sup> The final goal which he had in mind, the presentation of all of the prayer texts which have been preserved since the Reformation, of which he had already collected and critically studied thousands, proved to be a more difficult task than Althaus had imagined. In any case, it is surprising and regrettable that this very promising work has till this day never been continued.<sup>4</sup>

This is to be regretted both from the perspective of theological research as well as from the perspective of the life of the church. If it is true in regard to scientific studies that

<sup>1</sup> *Lutherforschung heute*. Speeches and reports at the First International Congress for Luther Research. Edited by Vilmos Vajta, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> How productive the consequent inclusion of this aspect, the history of piety, can be to research in church history is shown by the exhaustive work by Johann v. Walters *Geschichte des Christentums* (2nd edition, 1938/39).

<sup>3</sup> Paul Althaus, Sr.: *Research on Protestant Prayer Literature*, 1927 (edited by Paul Althaus, Jr., 1927).

<sup>4</sup> The fact certainly cannot be overlooked that research on prayers used in worship (cf. for example, *Leiturgia*, Vol. II, 1955) as well as in hymnology has progressed.



"the prayers" are the most reliable characteristic for distinguishing the specific piety of a particular epoch in church history,<sup>5</sup> then in regard to the life of the church the remark which Wilhelm Löhe made in the introduction to his *Hausbedarf christlicher Gebete* holds true that "no author would have less regrets than the one who would bring out a volume which would make available to his contemporary the ancient prayers of the past which have been preserved in the church, thus building a bridge to the communion of saints between the various eras of the church."<sup>6</sup>

Whether the building of this bridge as such is possible today certainly appears questionable to us. The more present-day Christianity becomes aware of the distance separating it from the Fathers, the more it feels a strangeness in its prayers which, for good or bad, bear the traces of our time. On the other hand, and this does not exclude what has been said, the prayer literature of today derives more or less from the treasures of the Fathers. Prayers break through the bounds set by time much more quickly and more thoroughly than do theological outlines. Even confessional lines are frequently not respected. One could exaggerate a little and say that prayers bear more of an ecumenical character than do theological statements.<sup>7</sup> A study of prayer literature is necessary from this aspect also.

It can be that the decline in private devotions plays a role in the receding need for prayer literature. To what extent sociological changes, such as the disappearing function of home and family, have contributed to and conditioned this decline cannot be investigated here. However, the question must be raised as to what form of private devotion is relevant for our time and where the place for such devotion is.

The following remarks deal with several new prayer books. Only a few typical ex-

amples which have been published in the last few years can be considered; this is in no way a complete survey of the field. Furthermore, the choice is the reviewer's own.

In the first two works, the prayers of Duke Albrecht von Preussen and Count von Zinzendorf, two important and distinctive voices of the Reformation era and Pietism find expression. The other prayer books are contemporary collections or were written with our time in view; the last comes from Catholic circles. They are all intended, each in its own way, to provide aid in prayer, both as regards form and content.

The Göttingen church historian ROTH, who died in 1956, compiled the *Gebete Herzog Albrechts von Preussen* from remnants saved from the archives at Königsberg, which are now in the State Archives at Göttingen. The last Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens (Grand Master of the German Order), who dissolved the Order of the Teutonic Knights on the advice of Luther and transformed Prussia into a secular duchy, was one of the most impressive among the princes of his day who allied themselves with the Reformation. He was sincerely concerned with the strengthening of the Protestant faith in his kingdom. In the first 25 pages Roth gives a very precise and extensive historical introduction which is of great assistance in understanding the texts which follow. From this there evolves the picture of a man who had to face extremely difficult tasks and decisions during his entire life; a man, on the other hand, whose life, down to its most personal aspects was marked by the heavy blows of fact.

The inspiration to set his prayers down on paper came from his wife, the Duchess Dorothea. As the daughter of the King of Denmark she had been raised as a Roman Catholic, but desired to grow up in the Protestant faith ever since her marriage in 1526. She requested Albrecht to outline a detailed meditation on, and exposition of, the Lord's Prayer from Holy Scripture. He refused at first on the grounds that there were others (the theologians) who could do it better. But she wasn't satisfied; he could instruct her in the Protestant faith much better than many a theologian. Thus from time to time, from 1530 until his death at a very advanced age (he died in 1568), he wrote down the prayers which are partly printed in this volume in abridged form.

<sup>5</sup> Althaus, *loco citato*, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted from Althaus, *loco citato*, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> This is especially true of religious poetry. It would be worthwhile to study Protestant and Catholic hymnals with a view to discovering to what extent and in what ways they have borrowed from one another. The Catholic hymnal used in the diocese of Osnabrück since 1951 contains, among others, three hymns by Luther, admittedly with various changes and without acknowledging the author. "The famous mission hymn 'O Jesu Christe, wahres Licht' (EKG 50) is an adaptation made by Johann Herrmann of a prayer which the Jesuit Petrus Michaelis wrote with regard to rebellious heretics 'For Unbelievers and Those Who Have Gone Astray'". Althaus, *loco*, p. 5.



Many of his prayers bear a meditative character. They frequently are based on the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, the Psalms or other biblical texts. About a half dozen of these are based on New Testament texts.

He applies the biblical accounts to his own situation to the point of using allegory. Following is an example which gives a glimpse into the depth and beauty of these prayers. In the prayer based on Luke 7:11-15 the widow of Nain represents Christ and his church, who ought actually to bear him, the duke, to the grave and to judgment:

Oh, my dear Lord Jesus Christ, behold, I, wretch that I am, borne like the widow's son and accompanied by the mourning multitude, come to thee. By virtue of thy powers human and divine, have mercy upon me, dead in sin. O my Lord Jesus Christ, thou true Son of God, it is not I alone who prays, but the great multitude accompanying the widow, including the bearers, who are thy universal Christian church; be merciful also unto me (pp. 151 ff.).

For Duke Albrecht this prayer is less an expression of an existing and conclusive fellowship with Christ than it is a means to war against temptation and despair. It is this fact which makes these prayers accessible to the modern reader, despite the differences as for example, those of language.

It is surprising how personal these prayers are on the one hand, and yet how biblically based and applicable to the worship life they are on the other hand. It would be a shame if this treasure which Roth has made available were to go unnoticed.

To pick up the collection of the *Gebete des Grafen Zinzendorf*, edited by WALTER LUDWIG, is to enter into a totally different world. The title of this collection *Herz und Herz vereint zusammen* (which is taken from one of the most familiar of the count's hymns) indicates that here prayer is less a means of warfare and a field of struggle than it is an expression of confidence—the conversation of the heart with the beloved Savior. To Zinzendorf, to pray means to "become familiar with the Savior."

This is not an exhaustive collection of Zinzendorf's prayers; it is merely a selection. Added to this is the fact that the count considered the hymns to be a more important part of worship than the prayers. Ludwig is certainly right when he writes in the epilogue: "His prayers are to a great extent his hymns" (p. 62).

Most of these prayers were either conceived for the worship services or were spontaneously created in worship. The count had the habit, as did other fathers of Pietism, of beginning to pray in the middle of the sermon. Ludwig calls attention to one very interesting fact, namely, that the prayers which originated in Pennsylvania show a much stronger reliance upon traditional forms. Zinzendorf traveled to America in 1741 to serve as pastor to those who had emigrated for religious reasons. Many of his parishioners were Lutherans, so he made use of the forms of worship which were familiar to them, among which the congregational prayer was an essential element.

Biblical language is encountered much less frequently than one would expect. Many of his formulations sound almost modern (for example, "we are so well acquainted, the tempter and I," p. 38; "My heart was not there where my prayer was," p. 39), while others are scarcely relevant because of their flamboyant style (for example, "You have brought me out and have made me a sapling, a little blade of grass... you have made me a little drop of water, a small fox, a lively, cheerful creature," p. 10). Ludwig has without exception supplied these prayers with appropriate titles. The register of sources at the end of the volume supplies information about the original sources and the secondary sources. The very short epilogue gives some valuable hints for a fuller appreciation of the uniqueness of these prayers.

The two prayer-books for every day of the church year which belong together: *Herr, lehre uns beten* (Morning Prayers, first edition, 1953) and *Herr, bleibe bei uns* (Evening Prayers, first edition, 1954) are offered as an aid to the revival and reorganization of family devotions. They are intended as a means to make use of "the experiences and the inner results of the church struggle which have become a source of blessing." One external manifestation of this is the fact that the prayers for the home have been closely related to the Sunday worship services of the congregation. For instance, the prayers are based upon the corresponding biblical lessons, namely, the so-called "Lessons for the Church Year," which generally came into use in the Evangelical Churches of Germany during the church struggle. Thus they build a daily order of the pericope, which is based upon the Gospels for the Sunday worship.



A hymn and a biblical passage for the week are given for Sundays, and suggestions of hymns such as a praefamen (a short scriptural phrase) are given for the weekdays. Thus an outline for devotions in the home is sketched for every day. The introduction explains the motives behind this particular arrangement to those who will use these prayer books. It also includes a guide to the church year on which these prayer books are based. A further chapter gives suggestions for the conducting of home devotions. One hundred prayers for special occasions are included at the end of the book of morning prayers, while the book of evening prayers includes an order for intercessory prayer.

The strength of these prayer books which are already in wide use throughout the church is that they attempt to provide aids for home devotions without a great deal of expense.

Those who make use of this book for a whole year will probably find that there are individual sections which are not relevant to their needs, because they cannot feel at home in the style of writing of each one of the 60 contributors. Many of the prayers tend to follow too closely the style of the collects and the other liturgical prayers. It would have been especially appropriate had the intercessory prayers been a little less like the traditional formulations.

Mere mention can be made here of the *Allgemeines Evangelisches Gebetbuch*, which owes its existence to the work of Protestant student congregations. This prayer book is not primarily oriented around personal or private devotions. Instead it seeks to make use of the "treasure of ordered prayer forms," that is, in this book the common praise of God in the Sunday and weekday services stands in the foreground. It includes orders for the hours, a fellowship of prayer for confession and the Holy Communion according to the Lutheran, Reformed and the brotherhood traditions, as well as prayers for the days of the week, the church year and special needs.

The register of sources at the rear of the book indicates the ecumenical scope of this prayer book which very pointedly regards house devotions as one special part of the common prayer life of the church.

Next is a prayerbook which very boldly and decidedly breaks with tradition and which therefore has attracted a great deal of attention far beyond the confines of the usual

church circles, judging by the reviews. This is *Herr, da bin ich*, edited by MICHAEL QUOIST in Le Havre in 1954. This review is based on the 13th edition.

The cover says: "The prelude to a modern prayer language." In actual fact this book is extremely fascinating because of the unconventional manner in which it allows this world, just as it is, to enter into conversation with God. "God draws near to us through all the experiences of life, even the most insignificant." "Starting with one object, one person, one occurrence, every one of these prayers attempts to bring the position of faith to bear upon a sector of daily life" (p. 9).

For example: take a brick which is about to be placed among many others in a foundation. "Nobody sees it, but it does its own job, and the others depend upon it. Lord, what difference does it make if I in the coping of the house or in the foundation, as long as I am faithful, in my own place in your building."

The telephone, a child, the subway, the hospital, the bald head of the man in front at a conference, a pornographic magazine, a night football game, all of these lead to a dialogue with God, they become symbols for the reality of God; they lead to the judging or comforting word of God; they lead to the challenge to become a better and more convinced witness to Christ.

Many of the prayers are preceded by biblical texts which relate to them "in order to inspire the reader to find nourishment for his daily life in the gospel, if he has not already been led to do so."

These prayers are not all in a similar style which would begin to have a somewhat boring effect once their art had been discovered. The scope and variety of the forms presented here have presupposed a large measure of artistic intuition and imagination. It is truly an enriching and a satisfying book, which will certainly open the door for many a person who has never held private devotions.

There are two critical questions which must be raised: a) the foreword states that "Our words will quickly pass away. . . . The flower which has been picked quickly wilts, but other flowers bloom anew and others are there to pick them" (p. 10).<sup>8</sup> This aptly describes

<sup>8</sup> There have been some Protestant attempts to bring out prayer books along the line of this one by Quoist (see *Die Mitarbeit*, Evangelische Monatsheft zur Gesell-



the limitations of this prayer book. Actually, each prayer can be read only once. The second time they lose their brilliance, and by the third reading they seem somewhat artificial. Are these really prayers or are they literary gems? b) do the things which are used as symbols here really say what they are intended to mean? For example, is this not a case of poetical license when it is said of a tractor: "The tractor is proud. It impresses men with its great power; it looks neither right nor left, it moves steadily forward; but it crawls along, Lord, and with this I am satisfied. It is ugly, it drags itself laboriously along, it rattles its heavy metal frame..." (p. 51).

These critical remarks in no way detract from the value of the book. In regard to the first criticism, the question could be raised whether this "cutflower" method, the quick reaction, is not a characteristic of our "consumer society" as it is often called? Might it not also be a necessary characteristic of prayer—at least of private prayer, which is alive and vital?

The second criticism raises the whole problem of the possibility of an *analogia entis*, which is a part of the inter-confessional theological discussion. This indication of the problem should suffice.

MARTIN KRUSE

## Growth Problems of the Younger Churches

THE GROWTH OF THE CHURCH IN BUGANDA. *An Attempt at Understanding.* By John V. Taylor. London: S.C.M. Press, 1958. 288 pp.

KIRCHE—MISSION—RASSE. *Die Missionsauffassung der Niederländisch-Reformierten Kirchen von Südafrika.* (Church—Mission—Race. *The Missionary Concept of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa.*) By Oscar Niederberger. Schöneck-Beckenried, Switzerland: Verlag der Neuen Missions Zeitschrift, 1959. 402 pp.

schaftspolitik, Heft 11/1958, pp. 535 ff.). These attempts at imitation show how difficult this approach is. Where the poetical spirit is lacking and this form of prayer becomes a method, it immediately loses its life and its genuineness.

MY ARABIAN DAYS AND NIGHTS. *A medical missionary in old Kuwait.* By Eleanor T. Calverly. New York: M. D. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1958. 182 pp.

BASILEIA. *Walter Freytag zum 60. Geburtstag.* Edited by Jan Hermelink and Hans Jochen Margull. Stuttgart: Evangelischer Missionsverlag GmbH, 1959. 515 pp. DM 19.80.

JOHN V. TAYLOR has already described the "processes of growth in an African church" in a short outline in the I.M.C. Research Pamphlets No. 6 (London, S.C.M. Press, 1958, 30 pp.). The book under review develops further the experiences and insights gained from the close study of one of the younger churches, both its history and its actual situation. It is an important book, and not for Africa alone. It also offers an excellent example of the kind of study of the younger churches, not just those in Africa, which is so urgently needed. This book is an eye-opener which should lead to a critical, and as far as the missions are concerned, to a self-critical grappling not only with those questions and problems which stand in the foreground but also with those that are hidden and which easily remain so. We have the excellent opportunity to learn from history and from our mistakes. The mission representatives and the younger churches must, with firm resolve, make use of newly won insights and knowledge in order to lift them out of the numbing zone of mere talk and translate them into deeds.

Why in the world should Africans be named "Albert" or "Fanny"? The appearance of these European names is a symbol for the process of "westernization" which is present in the whole structure ("latest schemes of the Europeans"—arousing opposition, p. 249). Bishop Tucker vigorously and at the right time challenged the emerging church to independence, including the "equality of all workers," while fully aware of the "united vigorous opposition of the missionaries" (pp. 86-87). Just like all theologians, the missionary theologians can also find reasons for everything! John Taylor's book can (and should) assist all directors of missions and mission workers to take seriously the much described and loudly proclaimed intention "now finally" to let the younger churches really be churches—before it is too late.

This book may be compared to a biography which tries to capture a rich life in all of its



variety. As one must read a biography in its entirety in order to be enriched by it, so also this book must be read personally and thoroughly. It is one of the most important and perhaps most effective books in the latest literature on missions. Therefore this review is nothing more than a challenge—take and read it! It should be put into the hands of all missionaries and related workers and should be discussed in their circles. It could be a mirror to reflect their own work. This book dare not be merely one more book on the market: it must become an eye-opener and an impetus to improved situations through honest and self-critical insights.

That the growth problems of the younger churches in no way belong to them alone, but are also our problems in the western churches, and that we, the representatives of the West, are scarcely better prepared to meet the great world changes in which the church in its historical forms is also involved, is made clear by the description of a church which once was, and still is, of extraordinary significance for the expansion of Christianity in Africa. This book is an expanded doctoral thesis from the pen of a Roman Catholic, OSKAR NIEDERBERGER. It is amazing and worthy of notice how well a Catholic has worked himself into the history and thought patterns of the Reformed church by studying an endless number of sources. I know of no counter example where a Protestant has in a like manner made such an attempt with an area of Roman Catholicism. The author knows that the Reformed churches "belong to those forces which are attempting to determine the fate of Africa, and for this reason they deserve the full attention of Catholic missionaries."

For me as a Lutheran, and from the place where I live, it is impossible to check and then to judge whether the Reformed missions and churches have gone against all standards of justice, but this does appear to be the case! Whether or not the Reformed feel that they have been rightly understood is for them to say. One thing is certain: every reader of this book is led into a green pasture and can learn very much in order better to understand the problem-ridden work of South Africa.

The discussion of the concept of the church (pp. 11-46) is followed by a description of the beginnings of the work (pp. 47-101), its development in the 19th (pp. 102-175) and in the 20th centuries (pp. 176-387). The topical

index of 10 pages shows that the book deals with many areas. Particular attention is naturally given to the race question and to apartheid, the motive behind which is found to be fear (p. 272).

From the standpoint of theology and the science of missions, it is very interesting to see the role which the confessional dogmatism of the Reformed church played. There was no lack of heresy trials. In this connection, the relationship between the position on the customs of Negroes and the position on the race question is of great importance; the latter determines the former. Just as a knowledge of Dutch was a necessary condition before a man was freed from slavery, so "it was expected that the new Christians would conduct themselves according to the morals and customs of the Dutch" (p. 97).

The South African congregations showed themselves to be in complete agreement, even in "the smallest things," with the Dutch church. Later, however, the unique value of the Bantu culture was seen. Things were bad under state control which seems almost modern; commissars appeared at the sessions of the church boards; the government regulated appointments, and "exercised a strong censorship over the correspondence of the church."

These few problems show that this book is well worth the time taken to read it. Together with Taylor's *Growth of the Church in Buganda* a detailed description of an important work is presented here which calls us to earnest reflection about missions and to draw the consequences from the loudly declared insights which we hear so frequently in our conference halls. Such consequences need not and indeed should not be carried out according to those traditional forms of mission work which have become familiar over the last century. The book by Frau Calverly describes another alternative.

Dr. CALVERLY was the first medical missionary to take up activity in Arabia. Medical mission work was of much greater significance in Arabia than in many other lands. The medicine bag has often opened the way into the hearts and houses of the people.

The work demands great patience. In the entire book, no baptisms are recorded. "No organized Christian church has been established in Kuwait as a result of our labors. There was not even a church building" (p. 161). Thus the great art of patience needed to be exercised in the service of love. Was it for



nothing? In God's eyes such a service is never for nothing, even though there are no encouraging statistics to speak of. But it is typical for a woman patient to say: "Khatoon, have you seen the desert sand after the long, hard drought of summer? Have you seen how it drinks in the rain that comes to it in the autumn? That is the way my heart drank in the words that you read today!" (p. 160).

After the discovery of oil Kuwait became rich. It was boasted of the missionaries, however, that "they came to us while Kuwait was still poor," while the work there still meant a pioneer existence. Now there is also a little church there, even though it has no bell tower.

ARNO LEHMANN

A volume has recently appeared which is dedicated to the later Walter Freytag, who was active in missions in countries in the non-western world. Walter Freytag was not only one of the leading thinkers on the mission of the church which the older generation has produced, but he was one of those who prepared the way for the changes in thought concerning missions, such as are reflected by the transition from the 19th century language of "foreign missions" to the 20th century "world mission." Editors JAN HERMELINK and HANS JOACHIM MARGULL were able to present this tribute volume, the work of 51 contributors, to him on the occasion of his 60th birthday, just before his death a few weeks later.

First, it contains a thorough bibliography of Professor Freytag's numerous writings from 1926 through 1958. This compilation will be essential for students of Freytag's thought, and since the great majority of his writings appeared in article form, this complete listing will be invaluable in locating and preserving the fruits of his facile pen.

Second, the volume reflects the vastness of Walter Freytag's view of the mission of the church. This is clearly the purpose employed by the editors in organizing the book in four sections, "Mission," "Religion," "Church," and "Ecumenics." Within these four broad topic areas, the essays range from compact, highly documented research papers on little known aspects of Christian and non-Christian history and practice, to essays of magnificent sweep in interpreting larger aspects of the interpretation of history. Notable examples of the former are R. Pierce Beaver's

illuminating contribution on eschatology in American missions, a paper which convincingly shows the link between colonial American and 19th century American missionary development; or Bengt Sundkler's technical study of response and resistance to the gospel in a Zulu congregation. At the other extreme in emphasis is Edmund Schlink's essay on the unity of the church and the disunity of Christians or Paul Devanandan's insights into the relationship between the Christian faith and national destiny in India today. Such diversified thought is appropriate to a volume honoring Walter Freytag. For his conception of mission included the scientific probing of non-Christian religion, top-level biblical exegesis, penetrating knowledge of the history of Christian thought, and above all, an intuitive capacity to bring these varied strands of knowledge to bear upon the present situation of the Christian mission in the world. The contents of this book reveal the extent to which a host of churchmen and scholars today are indebted to Walter Freytag's vision.

F. DEAN LUEKING

## *Apocalypse and Early Christianity*

LE ROULEAU DE LA GUERRE. *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, Vol. II. By J. van der Ploeg. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959. 198 pp.*

APOCALYPSE 12. *Histoire de l'exégèse. Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese 2. By Pierre Prigent. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1959. VI, 154 pp.*

DIE VERKLÄRUNG JESU. *Historisches Ereignis und synoptische Berichte. Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments 33. By Heinrich Baltensweiler. Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1959. 150 pp.*

In the second volume in the series of studies on the texts from the deserts of Judea (cf. *Lutheran World*, 1957/58, Vol. IV, pp. 495 ff.), the editor himself offers a translation of and commentary on the so-called War Scroll of Qumran, a collection of orders for the conduct of the last war of Israel before the dawn of the great era of salvation. This scroll was found in Cave I. Through a special literary critical hypothesis, VAN DER PLOEG opens up a new possibility for understanding



this very puzzling manuscript. According to him, this rule of war is based on a writing which has close affinities with the apocalyptic literature and was particularly influenced by Daniel and Ezekiel. This basic text, which was written some time after 164 B.C., was meant to strengthen the faithful of Israel and to prepare them for the approaching difficult experiences; it was also a devotional work as the prayers and songs which are preserved in the second half of the present manuscript testify. The great final battle is understood in terms of Ezekiel 38 f. in the original source; correspondingly it takes place in Palestine. The second author retains the conviction that it is God who finally destroys the enemies of Israel. But he introduces the thought, according to van der Ploeg, that this victory of God precedes a war for the conquest of the entire world on behalf of the God of Israel, a war alternating between victory and defeat which stretches itself out over four decades. The second author transforms the basic apocalyptic text into a collection of orders and rules for the conduct of this war. In it he mixes very unrealistic conceptions of the conduct of war with some direct knowledge of the contemporary methods of war (according to Ploeg it is not necessarily the Roman art of warfare which is presupposed). In respect to style, there are no obvious differences between the two authors. Moreover, fragments of more copies of the manuscript have been found; the remains of one such copy found in Cave 4 gives indication of being a still older edition, which makes the history of the text even more complicated.

The piety of the War Scroll is completely determined by legalistic and priestly influences; as far as one can see, the Messiah plays no role whatsoever here. The approaching battles are, to be sure, fought with the help of angels, but for the rest, they are thoroughly earthly wars.

Since the scroll is at times damaged at the top, but above all at the end of every column, the question of the reconstruction of the text, to say nothing of the missing parts at the end of each column, is of enormous significance in the writing of a commentary. Much more extensive are the explanations regarding the interpretation of the content. The attempts at reconstruction and interpretation which have been undertaken up till now are thoroughly discussed and the understanding of the text progresses in a decisive way. Van der Ploeg's interpretation of the

Scroll especially points out the close connection between its vocabulary and content and that of the Old Testament; naturally these will also have to be compared to the other Qumran manuscripts. A very well-balanced introduction raises, among other things, the question of the date of the War Scroll, its reconstruction, its unity, plus sketching its theology. Since the author is one of the specialists in Qumran research, it is hardly necessary to mention that this book is an essential contribution to the field.

The War Scroll represents an important source of information for the history of the apocalyptic literature, even though it raises many questions and problems which have not yet been answered. But a very exciting question for exegetes and church historians, and not the least for preachers, is what effect this literature has had upon the history of the church. This is what is so particularly interesting about the book by Prigent which is devoted to the history of the exposition of the Book of Revelation.

The importance which is ascribed in our day to the history of biblical exegesis, both as regards the development of theology on the one hand and the understanding of the biblical writings on the other, is obvious in the "contributions" to this history, which was brought out by a circle of international and inter-confessional scholars. In his history of the exposition of Revelation 12, PRIGENT does not amass individual quotations, but he draws the conclusions of the individual interpreters together. These he must partly reconstruct from remote references when dealing with the early church, and when dealing with the Middle Ages, he must partly glean them from rare editions and hand-written manuscripts, naturally with exact references to the texts. Thus he traces the lines of development and in a successful manner harmonizes various views as to its chronology and content. The methods of exegesis used in Revelations become obvious in the concrete example which the exegesis of Revelations 12 affords.

Already in the early church various types of interpretations existed alongside of one another (such as the allegorical and the historical; even the recapitulation theory existed at that time) which were to have an effect upon the subsequent ages. Alongside of the interpretation which views the woman as a reference to the church came that which holds that she represents Mary; some think the child



refers to the Christians, some that it refers to Christ, etc. In the Middle Ages particularly, that which Prigent has termed the historical-prophetic interpretation was developed, which sees the whole course of church history down to the very time of the interpreter himself as already predicted in Revelations 12. With the exception of Luther whose interpretation found in his hymn "Sie ist mir lieb, die werthe Magd" is praised as *prudente et mesurée* (p. 56), Protestant exegesis in the 16th and 17th centuries generally continued the church history interpretation of Revelations 12, whether the chapter refers to the events of history down to the present, or only to the early centuries of church history, or only to the very first; during this time the spiritualizing exegesis was very seldom advanced. Starting from their opposition to the Protestant interpretation of the dragon in Revelations 12 as referring to the papacy, the Jesuits developed an eschatological interpretation, but they also (Grotius, among others) accepted the historical view. Though the various ways of interpretation have a partial effect upon modern exegesis (chap. 8), even here, through the combining of various methods of exposition, this one is primarily characterized by questions concerning the re-working of older sources (chap. 9) and the derivation of the motives in Revelations 12 from the history of religion. These motives play a lesser role in the later, briefly dealt with commentaries (chap. 11). In a short concluding section Prigent attempts to sketch his own answers to the most important questions connected with Revelations 12 (pp. 141-147).

The Basel Dissertation by BALTENSWEILER combines influences of W. G. Kümmel and O. Cullmann in a very interesting manner, even though they contain varying interpretations of the story of the transfiguration. This reference to the above-mentioned persons is not intended to make them responsible in general for the content of this study; also in contrast to its literary "fathers," this work in its decisive characteristics represents an independent achievement of the author.

An analysis of the sources in Part I regards the text of Mark 9:2-8 as the earliest record. Within this segment, according to Baltensweiler, verse 6 is a remark by Mark (p. 31) and verse 7 b contains the significance of the event as seen by the disciples (p. 101). The tendency of the disciples and the synoptic writers to change the original meaning of the event is discussed in Part III. Decisive in the synoptic

accounts and above all in Mark, according to Baltensweiler, is the particularly strong christological content. The original meaning of the event is worked through by the author in Part II, which comprises almost half the book. According to Baltensweiler, the historical event occurred on the 7th day of the Passover Feast, which in a special way combined national and Messianic expectations for the Judaism of that day. The temptation which these hopes represented even to Jesus (Cullmann), he sought to overcome in the solitude of the mountains (p. 87); during this struggle three disciples were to stand by him. The appearance of Elijah (with Moses) demands the rejection of Zealotism and points out Jesus' mission of peace (p. 81 f.). The actual transfiguration, which is an act of God toward Jesus himself, consists in the fact that Jesus' clothes received "a heavenly whiteness"; this convinced the man Jesus that he belonged to the heavenly world (p. 88 f.). (The author again and again stresses that the original event above all concerned Jesus.) Baltensweiler distinguishes between the "marginal events of an historical-biographical nature" on the one hand—"time, selection of the three disciples, ascent up the mountain, words of Peter and the appearance of the cloud to conclude the event"—and the kerygmatic-theological part (Kümmel) on the other hand, which has as its content "the transformation of Jesus and the appearance of the two figures" (p. 87 f.). The author accomplishes the combination of the two through the concept of experience (p. 89).

Professional scholars will raise many questions about this interpretation as a whole, and also about individual points, and not always without good reason. Still more important, they will attack Baltensweiler's basic point of departure, which stresses the question: what actually "happened historically" at that time? In our opinion, it is precisely in this that the significance of this book lies—that Baltensweiler raises this question in terms of Jesus' own life and attempts to answer it, in continual opposition to other views, by taking a historical-critical approach toward a highly controversial account, even though the question immediately arises whether the rationalistic course, according to which the author distinguishes between marginal historical events and theological, or else, experiential content, does justice to the event reported as well as to the report.

GERHARD DELLING



## CORRESPONDENCE

### Note

#### Reprint and Revision of the Weimar Luther Edition

By order of the Commission for the Publication of Martin Luther's Works—this commission being at the same time engaged in completing the Weimar Luther edition—the undersigned institutions have started the preliminary work for revising this edition. The results of the respective revision will be published as supplements to the individual volumes, simultaneously with their photo-mechanical reprint. They will cover addenda and corrections referring to the text, literature and bibliography, as well as explanations of words, literary sources of quotations etc. We ask all persons who are able to furnish addenda or to refer to errata and corrigenda,

to kindly inform one of the two institutions thereof. If so required, we ask them to place respective special prints at our disposal. We are thankful for any promoting hint.

The Göttingen Study Group of the Weimar Luther Edition:

Dr. Hanz Volz  
Bovenden via Göttingen  
Feldtorweg 2.

The Berlin Study Group of the Weimar Luther Edition:

Prof. Dr. Johannes Erben  
German Academy of Sciences in Berlin  
Institute for German Language and Literature  
Berlin W 8  
Otto-Nuschke-Strasse 22/23.



## IDEOLOGY, CRITIQUE AND THE CHURCH

*The word ideology suggests a circle of problems which obviously concerns philosophers and sociologists primarily. It concerns philosophers because, from the very start, this word contains the accusation that the truths which reason has discovered are nothing more than reflections of the social status of the philosopher; they include only that which one thinks as citizen or aristocrat, as one who is interested in maintaining the status quo, or as one who is interested in social change. It concerns the sociologists because they are the ones who made and are still making the accusation. Furthermore it also includes a question directed at them, namely, what is it that man or society changes if there are no absolutely necessary truths.*

*This question has long since ceased to be academic and has become a world problem. One half of the world accuses the other that what it understands under freedom, truth and God is merely the combination of an economic and social system with the very positive interests of the so-called capitalists. The accusation is returned with the claim that the revolutionary critique of 19th century capitalism has long since been transformed into a tarnished totalitarian system. Everyone is affected by this mutual critique of ideologies; each is influenced by the side at whose disposal he is, everyone views the world with fear and distrust. The scientific critique of ideologies has become a general suspicion of ideologies.*

*All of this concerns the church in many ways. Therefore the insight that the present-day situation of mankind is only understandable in the light of the history of the Christian church is an important and necessary one. It is a result of the Christian proclamation, and it involves the great basic claims of this proclamation: the redemption and calling of mankind, its salvation, its commission to be the steward of God's creation. It can be said that what has resulted was not the intention of the preachers; it arose on the side. But the connection between result and intention is so obvious and demonstrable that not even the strongest doubt can erase it. The world, as we know it today, could not have arisen without the Bible and the biblical proclamation. For this reason we cannot deny the fact that we, as preachers, have a responsibility for this world, even though at the present time it is not too clear just how we are to exercise this responsibility. The three main articles in this issue are intended not merely as critique and diagnosis, but also as hints as to a possible therapy.*

*For the more important question is how are we, as the church, to find a relationship to this world, that is, a point from which to exercise our divinely-commissioned ministry of reconciliation through word and sacrament. Many Christians do not as yet even see this question; or perhaps the reason for the distrust which the church encounters in many countries is to a great extent not recognized. Certainly, there is a sense of longing for the church in the hearts of many of whom it is least expected. But naturally, at the same time, the question is raised, with great distrust, whether even here vested interests will in the last analysis prove to be the decisive motives, whether even here we are not basically being organized and manipulated by skilled*



*and clever men. And this distrust grows in proportion to the ecclesiastical machinery. Thus in many countries the religiosity of the populace stands in inverse ratio to the social and political prestige of the church, that is, of its leaders. Our contemporaries have a growing reluctance to deliver themselves up even more to large and uncontrollable organizations than is already necessary for their own and their families' security. When they look to the church, they are looking for something entirely different, the freedom of the children of God, for that, and this all men know without needing any further proof, which the world cannot give. They are asking what God intended when he sent his church into the world; they are asking us how long they can belong to God in this world.*

*The answer lies neither in protesting against this world nor in adapting oneself to it. The issue is neither one of Christian conservatism nor of Christian modernity. The black gown or the Gregorian liturgy can no more accomplish this than can the colored shirt and the skillful microphone technique. Men are waiting for those who have been freed for service; they are waiting for the wonder of God's love to become concrete in our time. They are waiting for the biblical words which are reiterated at all Kirchentage, general assemblies and synods to become more than pious biblical formulations; in both East and West they have not yet lost hope that God's dominion begins beyond all modern power structures.*

*The fulfillment of these hopes is not subject to a program or a model of the future church. The answer can only lie in the faith that, as Rosenstock-Hussey put it, the Christians will "outrun the modern mind" at this point, because God's coming has long overtaken all human plans for the future. The doubts of the modern intellectual can only be answered with faith in the wonder of God's coming. The critique of ideologies can help us to answer in a clearer, more humble, but yet more convincing manner than is generally the case. It can help us to find the place at which the church can serve our world. At any rate, these questions should not let us rest in peace.*

HANS BOLEWSKI



## EDITORIAL NOTES

This issue is devoted to the discussion of theology and sociology. In Vol. VI, No. 3 we already carried a report on the recent studies in the sociology of the congregation (Justus Freytag: "The Development of the Sociology of Religion in Germany") with references to the latest German literature in this field. In a future issue we hope to survey German Catholic literature in this area, as well as the excellent American publication *Urban Church Planning* by Walter Kloetzli and Arthur Hillman. The possibilities and problems of important branches of the church's work such as stewardship and the Evangelical Academies can only be rightly understood after thorough sociological study.

The authors of the main articles are WILL HERBERG, professor of Judaism and Social Philosophy at Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, USA; PETER L. BERGER, director of the Institute for Church and Society at the Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Conn., USA, and JOACHIM MATTHES, lecturer on Sociology at the Evangelical Academy at Loccum, near Hannover.

In the section "Lutheran World Federation and the Ecumenical World," Rev. WILLIAM A. DUDDE, English editor of the *News Bureau* in Geneva, reports on the Executive Committee Meeting at Porto Alegre; Dr. STEWART HERMAN, New York, reports on the meetings of the Latin America Committee. The report on the Berlin meeting of the Commission on Stewardship and Congregational Life was written by Dr. ROBERT STACKEL, pastor of the ULCA in Akron, Ohio, USA. The question of Holy Communion is dealt with twice, once under "Faith and Order" and once under "Ecumenical Youth Work." We are also presenting here the Arnoldshain Theses formulated in 1957, since they are basic to the discussion on Holy Communion, and the position taken in regard to them by the Theological Commission of the VELKD. The introduction to the document from the study conference on "Holy Communion and Youth" was written by GERHARD MÜNDERLEIN, Neuendettelsau.

Konsistorialrat Peter Kraske of Berlin reports on the discussion of authority in Germany, and Oberkirchenrat Heinrich Riedel, representative of the Council of the EKD for diaconal work, writes on the program "Bread for the World." Dr. WILLIAM R. WALTERS, of Wittenberg University, Springfield, Ohio, reports on the work of the Lutheran Society for Worship, Music and the Arts and Dr. BERNHARD HILLILA, Warren, Ohio, USA, representative of the Suomi Synod at the merger negotiations, deals with the two large American Lutheran mergers which will be consummated in 1961. An article by SVERRE SMAADAH, pastor in Oslo, reports on the Norwegian evangelism program known as the "Aksjon." From Czechoslovakia we bring a brotherly word from Dr. JAN CHABADA, General Bishop of the Slovakian Church of the Augsburg Confession to the Lutheran World Federation.

Contributing book reviews are: Dr. Gottfried Hornig, Lund, Sweden, and Professor Gene Lund, Concordia College, Moorhead, Minn., USA; Dr. Horst Beintker, Greifswald; Dr. George A. Lindbeck, New Haven, Connecticut, USA;



*Dr. Hans Bolewski, Loccum; Pastor Martin Kruse, Loccum; Dr. Clarence C. Stoughton, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, USA; Professor F. Dean Lueking, River Forest, Illinois, USA; Professor Arno Lehmann, Halle (Saale), and Professor Gerhard Delling, also of Halle.*

*Dr. Hartmut Weber, who reviewed the biography of Thadden-Trieglaff by Werner Hühne (LW Vol. VI, No. 4, p. 442), advises us that during World War II, Dr. v. Thadden was commander of the city of Louvain, Belgium and not of Bruges, as was originally assumed.*

*Professor Johann Horvath of Hungary requests the Lutheran World to aid in finding stamp collectors from all over the world who would like to exchange stamps. His plea concludes with this paragraph:*

*"... Please remember to exchange letters with friends in the eastern European lands who collect stamps. Every letter is a bridge; every letter brings joy. Especially in this loveless age it is our task and duty to share love. For the love which we give returns to us again. If you have a few stamps left over for me, please send them. "Let all your things be done with charity" (I Cor. 16:14).*

*The address is:*

*Professor Johann Horvath,  
Tarnok-Ligetvaros,  
Hungary.*

*The frontispiece honors a leading ecumenical churchman on the occasion of his 80th birthday, Bishop Otto Dibelius.*



LUTHERAN WORLD  
publication of the  
LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

*Editorial Board:*

Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, Bishop Lajos Ordass, Bishop Bo Giertz, Bishop Rajah B. Manikam,  
Dr. Rudolf Weeber, Dr. Carl E. Lund-Quist

*Editor:*

The Rev. Dr. Hans Bolewski,  
Evangelical Academy, Loccum/Wunstorf (Hann.), Germany

*Assistant for the English Language Edition:*

The Rev. Mr. Otto E. Sommer  
17 route de Malagnou, Geneva, Switzerland



# *LUTHERAN WORLD*

**PUBLICATION OF THE  
LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION**

1959/60

VOL. VI



## Main Articles

The Lutheran Exegete and the Confessions of his Church, by <i>Nils A. Dahl</i> . . . . .	2
A Jewish and Christian Book, by <i>Claus Westermann</i> . . . . .	11
The New Testament and the Preaching of the Church, by <i>Krister Stendahl</i> . . . . .	28
The Problem of Hermeneutics in Current Continental Philosophy and Theology, by <i>Werner Schultz</i> . . . . .	33
Lutheranism and the Orthodox Church, by <i>Eduard Steinwand</i> . . . . .	122
The Contribution of Eastern Orthodoxy to the Ecumenical Movement, by <i>Archbishop Iakovos</i> . . . . .	140
Church, State and Society—An Orthodox View, by <i>Hamilcar Alivisatos</i> . . . . .	148
The Greek Version of the Augsburg Confession, by <i>Georges Florovsky</i> . . . . .	153
Luther's Theology of the Cross, by <i>Regin Prenter</i> . . . . .	222
The Theological Basis and Nature of the Liturgy, by <i>Vilmos Vajta</i> . . . . .	234
The Ministry and the Ministry of Women, by <i>Peter Brunner</i> . . . . .	247
The Meaning of the Missionary Command, by <i>Thorleif Boman</i> . . . . .	349
Preaching and the Real Presence of Christ, by <i>Per Erik Persson</i> . . . . .	357
The Preaching of Justification: a Self-Examination of the Church, by <i>William Narum</i> . . . . .	369
Ernst Barlach, by <i>Wolfgang Theopold</i> . . . . .	388

## LWF and the Ecumenical World

Geneva Diary, by <i>Carl E. Lund-Quist</i> . . . . .	53, 156
--	---------

### World Mission

First Contours of the African Radio Station, by <i>Sigurd Aske</i> . . . . .	56
Commission on World Mission, July 29-August 6, 1959, by <i>Carl Gustav Diehl</i> . . . . .	275
The Mission of the Church . . . . .	277
Statistics of Missions and Younger Churches, by <i>Arne Sovik</i> . . . . .	404
Radio Evangelism for the Uncommitted Continent, by <i>Sigurd Aske</i> . . . . .	414

### Theology

Justification and Church Unity—Report of the Amsterdam Meeting of the Commission on Theology, by <i>William H. K. Narum</i> . . . . .	396
The Ordering of the Worship Life of the Congregation, by <i>Károly Pröhle</i> . . . . .	398
On the Way to a Lutheran Foundation for Interconfessional Research, by <i>Hermann Dietzfelbinger</i> . . . . .	403



### *World Service*

People and Churches, by <i>Ruth Wick</i> . . . . .	57
First European Stewardship Conference, by <i>Eugene Ries</i> . . . . .	60
The Year of the Uprooted, by <i>William Dudde</i> . . . . .	278

### *Committee on Latin America*

Not More Religion but a Dynamic Faith, by <i>Stewart Herman</i> . . . . .	159
---	-----

### *World Council of Churches*

Pioneers' Passing, by <i>Daisuke Kitagawa</i> . . . . .	62
African Self-discovery, by <i>Hans-Ruedi Weber</i> . . . . .	171
The Central Committee Meeting at Rhodes, by <i>Hanfried Krüger</i> . . . . .	289
"Mass Media" and the Ecumenical Movement, by <i>H.W. von Meyenn</i> . . . . .	294
Problems of Rapid Social Change, by <i>Peter Heyde</i> . . . . .	297

### *United Nations Children's Fund*

Help for Children, by <i>Alison Mathers</i> . . . . .	65
---	----

### *Conference of European Churches*

Nyborg Neighbor, by <i>Werner Jentsch</i> . . . . .	162
---	-----

### *East Asia Christian Conference*

Kuala Lumpur: Marginal Glosses, by <i>Bengt Hoffman</i> . . . . .	167
---	-----

### *Announcement of Scholarships*

Lutheran World Federation . . . . .	173
World Council of Churches . . . . .	176

### *Lutheran Publications*

The Areas of Cooperation Possible between Lutheran Publishing Houses, by <i>H. Torrey Walker</i> . . . . .	284
--	-----

### *World Presbyterian Alliance*

18th General Council, Sao Paulo, Brazil, by <i>Lewis Mudge</i> . . . . .	287
--	-----

### *Conference of European Churches*

The Churches Facing the New Era of Europe, by <i>Emilien Timiadis</i> . . . . .	416
---	-----

## **From Lands and Churches**

### *Canada*

The Effects of Emigration and Immigration on the Churches of Canada, by <i>Earl J. Treusch</i> . . . . .	426
--	-----

### *Czechoslovakia*

The First Lutheran Church Building, by <i>Emil Edgar</i> . . . . .	83
--	----

### *Finland*

Sobernost and the Churches, by <i>Hans-Heinrich Wolf</i> . . . . .	188
--	-----



## Germany

The Religion of the Younger Generation, by <i>Hans-Otto Wölber</i> . . . . .	71
Preview of the Munich Kirchentag, by <i>Friedebert Lorenz</i> . . . . .	177
The Development of the Sociology of Religion in Germany, by <i>Justus Freytag</i> . . . . .	307
Towards a Better Understanding of the <i>Kirchenkampf</i> in Germany under National Socialism, by <i>Claus-Hinrich Feilcke</i> . . . . .	428

## Great Britain

Clinical Training at Oxford, by <i>William E. Hulme</i> . . . . .	73
---	----

## Hungary

The Imperial Charter for the Protestants of Hungary in the Last Century, by <i>Otto Vizner</i> . . . . .	311
--	-----

## India

Resumption of CSI Lutheran Conversations, by <i>Sigfrid Estborn</i> . . . . .	179
---	-----

## Italy

Evangelism in a Roman Catholic Context, by <i>Idelmo Poggioli</i> . . . . .	74
The Descendants of the Waldensians, by <i>Sergio Rostagno</i> . . . . .	76

## Japan

One Hundred Years of Protestantism, by <i>Sigurd Aske</i> . . . . .	305
---	-----

## Latin America

The Mission of the Lutheran Minority Churches in Latin America, by <i>Friedrich Hübner</i> . . . . .	301
--	-----

## South Africa

The Beginnings of a New Lutheran Synod in the Union of South Africa, by <i>Bengt Hoffman</i> . . . . .	431
--	-----

## Sweden

Bringing the Gospel from its Ghetto, by <i>Olov Hartman</i> . . . . .	79
---	----

## The United States

Religion on the Campuses, by <i>Herluf Jensen</i> . . . . .	183
The Lutheran Church in America and the Steel Strike, by <i>Theo J. Pretzlaff</i> . . . . .	424

## USSR

Impressions of Church Life in the USSR, by <i>Francis House</i> . . . . .	420
---	-----

## From the Editor

An Advisory Board for the Lutheran World . . . . .	113
Lutheran Publishing in the Ecumenical Era . . . . .	215
Planning the Lutheran World . . . . .	343
Preaching . . . . .	457

Editorial Notes . . . . .	116, 218, 345, 460
---------------------------	--------------------



## Miscellaneous

Events in the Ecumenical World . . . . .	117
Correspondence . . . . .	112, 211, 455

## Contributors

<i>Notes on Contributors</i> . . . . .	116, 218, 345, 460
<i>Alivisatos, Hamilcar</i> : Church, State and Society—An Orthodox View . . . . .	148
<i>Aske, Sigurd</i> : First Contours of the African Radio Station . . . . .	56
One Hundred Years of Protestantism . . . . .	305
Radio Evangelism for the Uncommitted Continent . . . . .	414
see also:	
Correspondence . . . . .	455
<i>Boman, Thorleif</i> : The Meaning of the Missionary Command . . . . .	349
<i>Brunner, Peter</i> : The Ministry and the Ministry of Women . . . . .	247
<i>Dahl, Nils A.</i> : The Lutheran Exegete and the Confessions of his Church . . . . .	2
<i>Diehl, Carl Gustav</i> : Commission on World Mission, July 29-August 6, 1959 . . . . .	275
<i>Dietzfelbinger, Hermann</i> : On the Way of a Lutheran Foundation for Interconfessional Research . . . . .	403
<i>Dudde, William A.</i> : The Year of the Uprooted . . . . .	278
<i>Edgar, Emil</i> : The First Lutheran Church Building . . . . .	83
<i>Estborn, Sigfrid</i> : Resumption of CSI-Lutheran Conservations . . . . .	179
<i>Feilcke, Claus-Hinrich</i> : Towards a Better Understanding of the Kirchenkampf in Germany under National Socialism . . . . .	428
<i>Florovsky, Georges</i> : The Greek Version of the Augsburg Confession . . . . .	153
<i>Freytag, Justus</i> : The Development of the Sociology of Religion in Germany . . . . .	307
<i>Hartmann, Olov</i> : Bringing the Gospel from its Ghetto . . . . .	79
<i>Herman, Stewart</i> : Not More Religion but a Dynamic Faith . . . . .	159
<i>Heyde, Peter</i> : Problems of Rapid Social Change . . . . .	297
<i>Hoffman, Bengt</i> : Kuala Lumpur: Marginal Glosses . . . . .	167
The Beginnings of a New Lutheran Synod in the Union of South Africa . . . . .	431
<i>House, Francis</i> : Impressions of Church Life in the USSR . . . . .	420
<i>Hübner, Friedrich</i> : The Mission of the Lutheran Minority Churches in Latin America . . . . .	301
<i>Hulme, William</i> : Clinical Training at Oxford . . . . .	73
<i>Iakovos, Archbishop</i> : The Contribution of Eastern Orthodoxy to the Ecumenical Movement . . . . .	140
<i>Jensen, Herluf M.</i> : Religion on the Campuses . . . . .	183
<i>Jentsch, Werner</i> : Nyborg Neighbor . . . . .	162
<i>Kitagawa, Daisuke</i> : Pioneers' Passing . . . . .	62
<i>Krüger, Hanfried</i> : The Central Committee Meeting at Rhodes . . . . .	289
<i>Lorenz, Friedebert</i> : Preview of the Munich Kirchentag . . . . .	177
<i>Lund-Quist, Carl E.</i> : Geneva Diary . . . . .	53, 156
<i>Mathers, Alison</i> : Help for Children . . . . .	65
<i>Meyenn, H. W. v.</i> : "Mass Media" and the Ecumenical Movement . . . . .	294
<i>Mudge, Lewis S.</i> : 18th General Council, Sao Paulo, Brazil . . . . .	287
<i>Narum, William H. K.</i> : The Preaching of Justification: a Self-Examination of the Church Justification and Church Unity—Report of the Amsterdam Meeting of the Commission on Theology . . . . .	369
	396



<i>Persson, Per Erik</i> : Preaching and the Real Presence of Christ . . . . .	357
<i>Poggioli, Idelmo</i> : Evangelism in a Roman Catholic Context . . . . .	74
<i>Prenter, Regin</i> : Luther's Theology of the Cross . . . . .	222
<i>Pretzlaff, Theo J.</i> : The Lutheran Church in America and the Steel Strike . . . . .	424
<i>Pröhle, Károly</i> : The Ordering of the Worship Life of the Congregation . . . . .	398
<i>Ries, Eugene</i> : First European Stewardship Conference . . . . .	60
<i>Rostagno, Sergio</i> : The Descendants of the Waldensians . . . . .	76
<i>Schultz, Werner</i> : The Problem of Hermeneutics in Current Continental Philosophy and Theology . . . . .	33
<i>Sovik, Arne</i> : Statistics of Missions and Younger Churches . . . . .	404
see also:	
<i>Correspondence</i> . . . . .	211
<i>Steinwand, Eduard</i> : Lutheranism and the Orthodox Church . . . . .	122
<i>Stendahl, Krister</i> : The New Testament and the Preaching of the Church . . . . .	28
<i>Theopold, Wolfgang</i> : Ernst Barlach . . . . .	388
<i>Timiadis, Emilien</i> : The Churches Facing the New Era of Europe . . . . .	416
<i>Treusch, Earl J.</i> : The Effects of Emigration and Immigration on the Churches of Canada . . . . .	426
<i>Vatja, Vilmos</i> : The Theological Basis and Nature of the Liturgy . . . . .	234
<i>Vizner, Otto</i> : The Imperial Charter for the Protestants of Hungary in the Last Century . . . . .	311
<i>Walker, H. Torrey</i> : The Areas of Cooperation Possible between Lutheran Publishing Houses . . . . .	284
<i>Weber, Hans-Ruedi</i> : African Self-discovery . . . . .	171
<i>Westermann, Claus</i> : A Jewish and Christian Book . . . . .	11
<i>Wick, Ruth</i> : People and Churches . . . . .	57
<i>Wölber, Hans-Otto</i> : The Religion of the Younger Generation . . . . .	71
<i>Wolf, Hans-Heinrich</i> : Sobernost and the Churches . . . . .	188

## Books Reviewed

<i>Ameln, Konrad; Mahrenholz, Christhard; Müller, Karl Ferdinand</i> (Eds.): Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie . . . . .	194, 450
<i>Andersson, Efraim</i> : Messianic Popular Movements in the Lower Congo . . . . .	94
<i>Angermeyer, Helmut</i> : Die Evangelische Unterweisung an höheren Schulen . . . . .	320
<i>Asmussen, Hans and Stählin, Wilhelm</i> (Eds.): Die Katholizität der Kirche. Beiträge zum Gespräch zwischen der evangelischen und der römisch-katholischen Kirche . . . . .	315
<i>Aulén, Gustaf</i> : <i>Eucharist and Sacrifice</i> . . . . .	205
<i>Aussenamt der EKID</i> : Wort und Mysterium . . . . .	90
<i>Bandt, Helmut</i> : Luthers Lehre vom verborgenen Gott. Eine Untersuchung zu dem offenbarungsgeschichtlichen Ansatz seiner Theologie . . . . .	86
<i>Bennett, John C.</i> : Christians and the State . . . . .	194
<i>Berger, Kurt</i> : Barock und Aufklärung im Geistlichen Lied . . . . .	192
<i>Beyerhaus, Peter</i> : Die Selbständigkeit der jungen Kirchen als missionarisches Problem . . . . .	94
<i>Blankenburg, Walter and Müller, Karl Ferdinand</i> (Eds.): <i>Leiturgia, Handbuch des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes</i> . . . . .	450
<i>Bonhoeffer, Dietrich</i> : <i>Gesammelte Schriften, Vol. II: Kirchenkampf und Finkenwalde</i> . . . . .	339
<i>Brinkel, Karl</i> : Die Lehre Luthers von der fides infantium bei der Kindertaufe (Theologische Arbeiten Vol. VII) . . . . .	86
<i>Brown, Robert McAfee</i> : The Significance of the Church . . . . .	105
<i>Brunotte, Heinz and Weber, Otto</i> (Eds.): <i>Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon. Church and Theological Dictionary</i> . . . . .	332
<i>Brunstäd, Friedrich</i> : <i>Gesammelte Aufsätze und kleinere Schriften</i> . . . . .	197
<i>Burba, Klaus</i> : Die Christologie in Luthers Liedern . . . . .	192



<i>Carrington, Philip: The Early Christian Church</i> . . . . .	335
<i>Christiani, Canon L. and Rilliet, Jean: Dennoch Bruder</i> . . . . .	315
<i>Christiani, Canon L. and Rilliet, Jean: Die Steine des Anstosses</i> . . . . .	315
<i>Coburn, John B.: Prayer and Personal Religion</i> . . . . .	100
<i>Cross, F. L. (Ed.): The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> . . . . .	332
<i>Diem, Hermann and Loch, Werner: Erziehung durch Verkündigung. Pädagogische Forschungen. Publication of the Comenius Institute, Part 12.</i> . . . . .	320
<i>Febvre, Lucien: Au cœur religieux du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle</i> . . . . .	90
<i>Fendt, Leonhard: Einführung in die Liturgiewissenschaft</i> . . . . .	450
<i>Fendt, Leonhard: Grundriss der Praktischen Theologie für Studenten und Kandidaten. Vol. II: Lehre von der Feier (Liturgik)</i> . . . . .	450
<i>Frör, Kurt (Ed.): Confirmatio. Forschungen zur Geschichte und Praxis der Konfirmation</i> . . . . .	320
<i>Gabriel, Paul: Das Deutsche Evangelische Kirchenlied</i> . . . . .	192
<i>Galling, Kurt (Ed.): Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> . . . . .	331
<i>Garrison, W. E. and Hutchinson, Paul: Twenty Centuries of Christianity: A Concise History</i> . . . . .	453
<i>Gerhardt, Paul: Dichtungen und Schriften</i> . . . . .	192
<i>Giese, Gerhard: Erziehung und Bildung in der mündigen Welt</i> . . . . .	320
<i>Gogarten, Friedrich: Was ist Christentum?</i> . . . . .	197
<i>Grass, Hans: Ostergeschehen und Osterberichte</i> . . . . .	106
<i>Haendler, Otto: Grundriss der Praktischen Theologie</i> . . . . .	450
<i>Hahn, Friedrich: Die Evangelische Unterweisung. Quellen zur Unterrichtslehre, Part 7</i> . . . . .	320
<i>Hahn, Friedrich: Die Evangelische Unterweisung in den Schulen des 16. Jahrhunderts. Pädagogische Forschungen. Publication of the Comenius Institute, Part 3</i> . . . . .	320
<i>Hamilton, William: The Christian Man</i> . . . . .	102
<i>Hartshorne, M. Holmes: The Promise of Science and the Power of Faith</i> . . . . .	447
<i>Hauschildt, Karl: Die Christusverkündigung im Weihnachtslied unserer Kirche</i> . . . . .	192
<i>Heintze, Gerhard: Luthers Predigt von Gesetz und Evangelium. Forschungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Protestantismus</i> . . . . .	207
<i>Hennecke, Edgar: Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung</i> . . . . .	335
<i>Hermann, Erich: Die Grundformen des pädagogischen Verstehens</i> . . . . .	320
<i>Hertzsch, Erich: Die Wirklichkeit der Kirche. Kompendium der Praktischen Theologie, Erster Teil: Die Liturgie</i> . . . . .	450
<i>Höfer, Josef and Rahner, Karl (Eds.): Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> . . . . .	331
<i>Hutchinson, Paul and Garrison, W. E.: Twenty Centuries of Christianity: A Concise History</i> . . . . .	453
<i>Hühne, Werner: Thadden-Trieglaff. Ein Leben unter uns</i> . . . . .	434
<i>Ihlenfeld, Kurt: Huldigung für Paul Gerhardt</i> . . . . .	192
<i>Jenkins, Daniel: Believing in God</i> . . . . .	100
<i>Jeremias, Joachim: Jesus' Promise to the Nations</i> . . . . .	201
<i>Joest, W. and Künneth, W. (Eds.): Dank an Paul Althaus. Eine Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag, dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern</i> . . . . .	92
<i>Kadar, Imre: Die Kirche im Sturm der Zeiten. Die Reformierte Kirche in Ungarn zur Zeit der beiden Weltkriege, der Revolution und Konterrevolution</i> . . . . .	339
<i>Karrenberg, Friedrich: Gestalt und Kritik des Westens. Beiträge zur christlichen Sozial-ethik heute</i> . . . . .	434
<i>Kelly, J. N. D.: Early Christian Doctrines</i> . . . . .	335
<i>Klein, Joseph: Skandalon. The Nature of Catholicism</i> . . . . .	315
<i>Künneth, W. and Joest, W. (Eds.): Dank an Paul Althaus. Eine Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag, dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern</i> . . . . .	92
<i>Lightfoot, R. H.: St. John's Gospel. A Commentary</i> . . . . .	108
<i>Loch, Werner, and Diem, Hermann: Erziehung durch Verkündigung. Pädagogische Forschungen. Publication of the Comenius Institute, Part 12.</i> . . . . .	320
<i>Lods, Marc: Confesseurs et martyrs. Successeurs des prophètes dans l'Eglise des trois premiers siècles</i> . . . . .	335
<i>Loew, Cornelius: Modern Rivals to Christian Faith</i> . . . . .	104



<i>Mahrenholz, Christhard</i> : Das Evangelische Kirchengesangbuch. Ein Bericht über seine Vorgeschichte, sein Werden und die Grundsätze seiner Gestaltung . . . . .	192
<i>Mahrenholz, Christhard and Söhngen, O.</i> (Eds.): Handbuch zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch . . . . .	190
<i>Mahrenholz, Christhard; Müller, Karl Ferdinand; Ameln, Konrad</i> (Eds.): Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie . . . . .	194, 450
<i>Marty, Martin E.</i> : A Short History of Christianity . . . . .	453
<i>Mesot, Jean</i> : Die Heidenbekehrung bei Ambrosius von Mailand . . . . .	201
<i>Michael, J. P.</i> : Christen suchen eine Kirche. Die ökumenische Bewegung und Rom. . . . .	315
<i>Mills, C. Wright</i> : The Sociological Imagination . . . . .	442
<i>Müller, Alfred Dedo</i> : Grundriss der Praktischen Theologie . . . . .	450
<i>Müller, Karl Ferdinand; Ameln, Konrad; Mahrenholz, Christhard</i> (Eds.): Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie . . . . .	194, 450
<i>Müller, Karl Ferdinand and Blankenburg, Walter</i> (Eds.): Leiturgia, Handbuch des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes . . . . .	450
<i>Munter, C. J.</i> : Het Avendmaal bij Luther . . . . .	205
<i>Newbigin, Lesslie</i> : One Body, One Gospel, One World. The Christian Mission Today . . . . .	201
<i>Otto, Gert</i> : Verkündigung und Erziehung. über das Verhältnis von Theologie und Pädagogik . . . . .	320
<i>Otto, Gert and Witt, Karl</i> : Evangelischer Religionsunterricht an der Berufsschule. Fragen an Schule und Kirche. . . . .	320
<i>Packard, Vance</i> : The Status Seeker . . . . .	442
<i>Pollard, William G.</i> : Chance and Providence . . . . .	447
<i>Präger, Lydia</i> (Ed.): Frei für Gott und die Menschen. Evangelische Bruder- und Schwesternschaften der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen . . . . .	434
<i>Quanbeck, Warren A.</i> (Ed.): God and Caesar: a Christian Approach to Social Ethics. Essays. . . . .	194
<i>Rahner, Karl and Höfer, Josef</i> (Eds.): Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. . . . .	331
<i>Reimers, Edgar</i> : Recht und Grenzen einer Berufung auf Luther in den Bemühungen um die evangelische Erziehung. . . . .	320
<i>Rietschel, Georg</i> : Lehrbuch der Liturgik . . . . .	450
<i>Rilliet, Jean and Christiani, Canon L.</i> : Dennoch Brüder . . . . .	315
<i>Rilliet Jean and Christiani, Canon L.</i> : Die Steine des Anstosses . . . . .	315
<i>Röbbelen, Ingeborg</i> : Theologie und Frömmigkeit im deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gesangbuch des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts . . . . .	192
<i>Schlosser, Katesa</i> : Eingeborenenkirchen in Süd- und Südwestafrika, ihre Geschichte und Sozialstruktur . . . . .	94
<i>Schweitzer, Wolfgang</i> : Freiheit zum Leben. Grundfragen der Ethik . . . . .	434
<i>Shinn, Roger L.</i> : Life, Death and Destiny . . . . .	102
<i>Sittler, Joseph</i> : The Structure of Christian Ethics . . . . .	194
<i>Skydsgaard, K. E.</i> : One in Christ . . . . .	315
<i>Söhngen, O. and Mahrenholz, Christhard</i> (Eds.): Handbuch zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch . . . . .	192
<i>Stählin, Wilhelm and Asmussen, Hans</i> (Eds.): Die Katholizität der Kirche. Beiträge zum Gespräch zwischen der evangelischen und der römisch-katholischen Kirche . . . . .	315
<i>Stallmann, Martin</i> : Christentum und Schule . . . . .	320
<i>Stock, Hans</i> : Studien zur Auslegung der synoptischen Evangelien im Unterricht . . . . .	320
<i>Storck, Hans</i> : Kirche im Neuland der Industrie . . . . .	326
<i>Sundkler, Bengt G. M.</i> : Bantu Prophets in South Africa . . . . .	94
<i>Thielicke, Helmut</i> : Das Leben kann noch einmal beginnen — Ein Gang durch die Bergpredigt . . . . .	197
<i>Thielicke, Helmut</i> : Theologische Ethik. Vol. II, Entfaltung. Zweiter Teil: Ethik des Politischen . . . . .	326
<i>Tiling, Magdalene von</i> : Wir und unsere Kinder. Eine Pädagogik der Altersstufen . . . . .	320
<i>Titus, Hric Lane</i> : The Message of the Fourth Gospel . . . . .	108
<i>Trillhaas, Wolfgang</i> : Ethik . . . . .	326



<i>Weber, Otto and Brunotte, Heinz</i> (Eds.): Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon. Kirchlich-theologisches Handwörterbuch . . . . .	332
<i>Wendland, Heinz-Dietrich</i> : Botschaft an die soziale Welt. Beiträge zur christlichen Sozialethik der Gegenwart . . . . .	434
<i>Weniger, Erich</i> : Die Eigenständigkeit der Erziehung in Theorie und Praxis. Probleme der akademischen Lehrerbildung . . . . .	320
<i>Wilder, Amos N.</i> : New Testament Faith for Today . . . . .	108
<i>Witt, Karl</i> : Konfirmandenunterricht. Neue Wege der Katechetik in Kirche und Schule . . . . .	320
<i>Witt, Karl and Otto, Gert</i> : Evangelischer Religionsunterricht an der Berufsschule. Fragen an Schule und Kirche. . . . .	320
<i>Wolf, Siegfried</i> : Evangelische Unterweisung und Innere Schulreform . . . . .	321
<i>Yinger, J. Milton</i> : Religion, Society and the Individual. An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion . . . . .	442

## Reviewers

Aske, Sigurd:

<i>One Body, One Gospel, One World. The Christian Mission Today</i> , by Lesslie Newbigin	201
---	-----

Baldermann, Ingo:

<i>Die Evangelische Unterweisung an höheren Schulen</i> , by Helmut Angermeyer. . . . .	320
<i>Confirmatio. Forschungen zur Geschichte und Praxis der Konfirmation</i> , edited by Kurt Frör . . . . .	320
<i>Erziehung durch Verkündigung. Pädagogische Forschungen. Publication of the Comenius Institute, Part 12</i> , by Hermann Diehm and Werner Loch. . . . .	320
<i>Erziehung und Bildung in der mündigen Welt</i> , by Gerhard Giese . . . . .	320
<i>Die Evangelische Unterweisung; Quellen zur Unterrichtslehre Part 7</i> , by Friedrich Hahn . . . . .	320
<i>Die Evangelische Unterweisung in den Schulen des 16. Jahrhunderts. Pädagogische Forschungen. Publication of the Comenius Institute, Part 3</i> , by Friedrich Hahn . . . . .	320
<i>Die Grundformen des pädagogischen Verstehens</i> , by Erich Hermann . . . . .	320
<i>Verkündigung und Erziehung. Über das Verhältnis von Theologie und Pädagogik</i> , by Gert Otto. . . . .	320
<i>Evangelischer Religionsunterricht an der Berufsschule. Fragen an Schule und Kirche</i> , by Gert Otto and Karl Witt. . . . .	320
<i>Recht und Grenzen einer Berufung auf Luther in den Bemühungen um die evangelische Erziehung. Göttinger Studien zur Pädagogik; New Series, Part 5</i> , by Edgar Reimers . . . . .	320
<i>Christentum und Schule</i> , by Martin Stallmann . . . . .	320
<i>Studien zur Auslegung der synoptischen Evangelien im Unterricht</i> , by Hans Stock . . . . .	320
<i>Wir und unsere Kinder. Eine Pädagogik der Altersstufen</i> , by Magdalene von Tiling . . . . .	320
<i>Die Eigenständigkeit der Erziehung in Theorie und Praxis. Probleme der akademischen Lehrerbildung</i> , by Erich Weniger . . . . .	320
<i>Konfirmandenunterricht. Neue Wege der Katechetik in Kirche und Schule</i> , by Karl Witt . . . . .	320
<i>Evangelische Unterweisung und Innere Schulreform</i> , by Siegfried Wolf . . . . .	321

Beintker, Horst:

<i>Gesammelte Aufsätze und kleinere Schriften</i> , by Friedrich Brundstäd, edited by Dr. E. Gerstenmeier and Dr. C. G. Schweitzer . . . . .	197
--	-----

Bitsch, Daniel:

<i>The Significance of the Church</i> , by Robert McAfee Brown . . . . .	105
--	-----



Bolewski, Hans:

<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Vol. I-III. 3rd edition, edited by Kurt</i>	
<i>Galling . . . . .</i>	331
<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, Vol. I-III. 2nd edition, edited by Josef Höfer and</i>	
<i>Karl Rahner . . . . .</i>	331
<i>Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon, Vol. I-III, edited by Heinz Brunotte and Otto Weber</i>	332
<i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, edited by F. L. Cross . . . . .</i>	332

David, Paul :

<i>Modern Rivals to Christian Faith, by Cornelius Loew . . . . .</i>	104
--	-----

Delling, Gerhard :

<i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung Bd. I. 3rd edition, The Gospels,</i>	
<i>edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher . . . . .</i>	335

Estborn, Sigfrid:

<i>Life, Death and Destiny, by Roger L. Shinn . . . . .</i>	102
<i>The Christian Man, by William Hamilton . . . . .</i>	102

Fraenkel, Peter:

<i>Au cœur religieux du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, by Lucien Febvre . . . . .</i>	90
<i>Wort und Mysterium, edited by the Office for External Affairs of the EKID (Aussenamt</i>	
<i>der EKID) . . . . .</i>	90
<i>Confesseurs et martyrs. Successeurs des prophètes dans l'Eglise des trois premiers siècles</i>	
<i>(Cahier théologique 41), by Marc Lods . . . . .</i>	335
<i>Early Christian Doctrines, by J. N. D. Kelly . . . . .</i>	335
<i>The Early Christian Church, by Philip Carrington . . . . .</i>	335

Heinecken, Martin J.:

<i>Ostergeschehen und Osterberichte, by Hans Grass . . . . .</i>	106
<i>Was ist Christentum?, by Friedrich Gogarten . . . . .</i>	197
<i>Das Leben kann noch einmal beginnen — Ein Gang durch die Bergpredigt, by Helmut</i>	
<i>Thielicke . . . . .</i>	197

Hertz, Karl H.:

<i>The Sociological Imagination, by C. Wright Mills . . . . .</i>	442
<i>The Status Seekers, by Vance Packard . . . . .</i>	442

Heyne, Paul T.:

<i>Religion, Society and the Individual. An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion, by</i>	
<i>J. Milton Yinger . . . . .</i>	442

Hillerdahl, Gunnar:

<i>Theologische Ethik, Vol. II: Entfaltung, Part 2: Ethik des Politischen, by Helmut</i>	
<i>Thielicke . . . . .</i>	326
<i>Ethik, by Wolfgang Trillhaas . . . . .</i>	326
<i>Kirche im Neuland der Industrie, by Hans Storck . . . . .</i>	326

Holmer, Paul L.:

<i>The Promise of Science and the Power of Faith, by M. Holmes Hartshorne . . . . .</i>	447
<i>Chance and Providence, by William G. Pollard . . . . .</i>	447



Hornig, Gottfried:

- Dank an Paul Althaus. Eine Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag, dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, edited by W. Künneth and W. Joest . . . . . 92

Kantonen, T. A.:

- Gesammelte Schriften, Vol. II: Kirchenkampf und Finkenwalde*, by Dietrich Bonhoeffer 339

Knoob, Willi J.:

- Die Selbständigkeit der jungen Kirchen als missionarisches Problem, Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia, Vol. I*, by Peter Beyerhaus . . . . . 94  
*Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, by Bengt G. M. Sundkler . . . . . 94  
*Eingeborenkirchen in Süd- und Südwestafrika, ihre Geschichte und Sozialstruktur*, by Katesa Schlosser . . . . . 94  
*Messianic Popular Movements in the Lower Congo, Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia XIV*, by Efraim Andersson . . . . . 94

Kumaresan, Jacob:

- Believing in God*, by Daniel Jenkins . . . . . 100  
*Prayer and Personal Religion*, by John B. Coburn . . . . . 100

Lehmann, Arno:

- Die Heidenbekehrung bei Ambrosius von Mailand (Supplement VII to Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft)*, by Jean Mesot . . . . . 201

Lindbeck, George A.:

- Dennoch Brüder. — Catholic-Protestant Relations. An Exchange of Letters between Pastor Jean Rilliet and Canon L. Christiani* . . . . . 315  
*Die Steine des Anstosses. — Catholic-Protestant Relations. New edition. An Exchange of Letters between Pastor Jean Rilliet and Canon L. Christiani* . . . . . 315  
*Christen suchen eine Kirche. Der ökumenische Bewegung und Rom*, by J. P. Michael 315  
*One in Christ*, by K. E. Skydsgaard; translated by Axel C. Kildegaard . . . . . 315  
*Die Katholizität der Kirche*, edited by Hans Asmussen and Wilhelm Stählin . . . . . 315  
*Skandalon. The Nature of Catholicism*, by Joseph Klein . . . . . 315

Löfgren, David:

- Luthers Lehre vom verborgenen Gott. Eine Untersuchung zu dem offenbarungsgeschichtlichen Ansatz seiner Theologie (Theologische Arbeiten, Vol. VIII)*, by Helmut Bandt 86  
*Die Lehre Luthers von der fides infantium bei der Kindertaufe (Theologische Arbeiten VII)*, by Karl Brinkel . . . . . 86  
*Het Avendmaal bij Luther*, by C. J. Munter . . . . . 205  
*Luthers Predigt von Gesetz und Evangelium. Forschungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Protestantismus, 10. Reihe, Bd. XI*, by Gerhard Heintze . . . . . 207

Lund, Gene:

- A Short History of Christianity*, by Martin E. Marty . . . . . 453  
*Twenty Centuries of Christianity*, by Paul Hutchinson and W. E. Garrison . . . . . 453

Müller, Karl Ferdinand:

- Handbuch zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch*, edited by Christhard Mahrenholz and Oskar Söhngen . . . . . 190  
*Das Deutsche Evangelische Kirchenlied*, by Paul Gabriel . . . . . 192  
*Die Christologie in Luthers Liedern*, by Klaus Burba . . . . . 192



<i>Die Christusverkündigung im Weihnachtslied unserer Kirche</i> , by Karl Hauschildt . . .	192
<i>Barock und Aufklärung im Geistlichen Lied</i> , by Kurt Berger . . . . .	192
<i>Theologie und Frömmigkeit im deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gesangbuch des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts</i> , by Ingeborg Röbelen . . . . .	192
<i>Paul Gerhardt: Dichtungen und Schriften</i> , edited by Eberhard von Cranach-Sichart .	192
<i>Huldigung für Paul Gerhardt</i> , by Kurt Ihlenfeld . . . . .	192
<i>Das Evangelische Kirchengesangbuch: Ein Bericht über seine Vorgeschichte, sein Werden und die Grundsätze seiner Gestaltung</i> , by Christhard Mahrenholz . . . .	192
<i>Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie</i> , edited by Konrad Ameln, Christhard Mahrenholz and Karl Ferdinand Müller . . . . .	194, 450
<i>Leiturgia, Handbuch des Evangelischen Gottesdienstes, Vol. I-VI</i> , edited by Karl Ferdinand Müller and Walter Blankenburg . . . . .	450
<i>Lehrbuch der Liturgik. Zweite neubearbeitete Auflage von Paul Graff, Vol. I-II</i> , by Georg Rietschel . . . . .	450
<i>Einführung in die Liturgiewissenschaft</i> , by Leonhard Fendt . . . . .	450
<i>Grundriss der Praktischen Theologie für Studenten und Kandidaten. Vol. II: Lehre von der Feier</i> , by Leonhard Fendt . . . . .	450
<i>Grundriss der Praktischen Theologie</i> , by Alfred Dedo Müller . . . . .	450
<i>Grundriss der Praktischen Theologie</i> , by Otto Haendler . . . . .	450
<i>Die Wirklichkeit der Kirche, Kompendium der Praktischen Theologie. Erster Teil: Die Liturgie</i> , by Erich Hertzsch . . . . .	450
<b>Rendtorff, Conrad:</b>	
<i>Jesus' Promise to the Nations</i> , by Joachim Jeremias . . . . .	201
<b>Reumann, John H.P.:</b>	
<i>New Testament Faith for Today</i> , by Amos N. Wilder . . . . .	108
<i>St. John's Gospel. A Commentary</i> , by R. H. Lightfoot; edited by C. F. Evans . . .	108
<i>The Message of the Fourth Gospel</i> , by Eric Lane Titus . . . . .	108
<b>Scherer, Ross P.:</b>	
<i>Religion, Society and the Individual. An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion</i> , by J. Milton Yinger . . . . .	442
<b>Sherman, Franklin:</b>	
<i>The Structure of Christian Ethics</i> , by Joseph Sittler . . . . .	194
<i>God and Caesar: A Christian Approach to Social Ethics. Essays</i> , edited by Warren A. Quanbeck . . . . .	194
<i>Christians and the State</i> , by John C. Bennett . . . . .	194
<b>Terray, L. G.:</b>	
<i>Die Kirche im Sturm der Zeiten. Die reformierte Kirche in Ungarn zur Zeit der beiden Weltkriege, der Revolution und Konterrevolution</i> , by Imre Kadar . . . . .	339
<b>Vajta, Vilmos:</b>	
<i>Eucharist and Sacrifice</i> , by Gustaf Aulén; translated by Eric H. Wahlstrom . . . .	205
<b>Weber, Hartmut:</b>	
<i>Freiheit zum Leben. Grundfragen der Ethik</i> , by Wolfgang Schweitzer . . . . .	434
<i>Gestalt und Kritik des Westens. Beiträge zur christlichen Sozialethik heute</i> , by Friedrich Karrenberg . . . . .	434
<i>Botschaft an die soziale Welt. Beiträge zur christlichen Sozialethik der Gegenwart</i> , by Heinz Dietrich Wendland . . . . .	434
<i>Frei für Gott und die Menschen. Evangelische Bruder- und Schwesternschaften der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellung</i> , edited by Lydia Präger . . . . .	434
<i>Thadden-Trieglaff. Ein Leben unter uns</i> , by Werner Hühne . . . . .	434



## Index of Persons Mentioned

- Albernoz, C. de 64  
 Althaus, P. 89, 92 f., 332, 381  
 Anderson, R. 95  
 André, M. 99  
 Aske, S. 457  
 Askmark, R. 160  
 Asmussen, H. 214, 315  
 Aulén, G. 205 f., 372  
  
 Barlach, E. 388  
 Barth, K. 48 f., 86 f., 231, 263, 317, 333, 340, 371 f., 380, 397, 454  
 Bauer, W. 197, 339  
 Beckmann, J. 429, 451 f.  
 Bell, G. K. A. 62, 140, 340  
 Bennett, J. C. 197  
 Benz, E. 91, 122, 130, 134, 153 f.  
 Bergendoff, C. 244  
 Berggrav, E. 62  
 Billing, E. 79 f.  
 Bodelschwingh, Fr. v. 440  
 Bofinger, W. F. 432  
 Bonhoeffer, D. 195, 224, 230, 326, 339 f.  
 Bornkamm, H. 43, 132  
 Brinkel, K. 88 f.  
 Brunner, E. 49  
 Brunner, P. 244, 247, 396 f., 403, 451  
 Brunotte, H. 249, 252, 332, 429  
 Buber, M. 20 f., 26, 36, 221, 449  
 Bultmann, R. 24, 41 f., 50 f., 108, 226 f., 379 f., 397, 447  
 Burgelin, P. 164, 288  
  
 Clark, E. T. 305  
 Crusius, M. 91, 122, 153 f.  
 Cullmann, O. 339, 451  
  
 Dahl, N. A. 397  
 Davis, J. M. 95  
 Dibelius, O. 62 f.  
 Diem, H. 43, 320  
 Dietzfelbinger, H. 403  
 Dilthey, W. 33 f., 50, 334  
 Dix, Dom G. 240, 335, 374  
 Dumont, P. 291  
  
 Ebeling, G. 43 f.  
 Eklund, J. A. 80  
 Elert, W. 195, 241  
 Empie, P. 57 f., 159  
  
 Fendt, L. 236 f.  
 Feuchtwanger, L. 25  
 Fischer, R. 73  
 Francke, A. H. 126 f.  
 Freyer, H. 36  
 Freytag, J. 310  
 Fröhr, K. 93, 320, 452  
 Fry, F. C. 62 f.  
  
 Giertz, B. 244, 384  
 Gogarten, F. 51, 198 f., 321, 324  
 Gollwitzer, H. 164  
 Grass, H. 93, 106 f.  
  
 Harnack, A. 12, 14, 41  
 Heidegger, M. 38 f., 48, 51  
 Hermelink, J. 112  
 Holl, K. 43, 376  
 Hulme, W. 73 f.  
  
 Iakovos, Archbishop 165, 291  
  
 Jeremias, J. 203 f.  
 John XXIII, Pope, 62, 281, 291  
  
 Keller, E. J. 161  
 Kierkegaard, S. 222, 381, 385, 454  
 Kinder, E. 93, 241, 317, 370  
 Künneth, W. 93 f., 326, 329, 333, 388  
  
 Leeuw, G. van der 42 f.  
 Leskó, B. 159  
 Lilje, H. 60, 121, 156 f.  
 Lindbeck, G. A. 320  
 Lund-Quist, C. E. 55, 215, 396 f., 403  
  
 Michelfelder, S. C. 54  
 Miegge, G. 78  
 Mudge, L. S. 215, 217, 287  
 Müller, K. F. 235, 450  
  
 Nelson, R. 60, 157  
 Newbigin, L. 201 f.  
 Niles, D. F. 376 f.  
 Nolde, O. Fred. 420 f.  
 Novak, 166  
 Nygren, A. 80, 372  
  
 Ogawa, M. S. 296  
  
 Parisski, L. 163  
 Pelikan, J. J. 196  
 Piepkorn, A. 196  
 Piper, O. A. 195, 386  
 Poggioli, I. 74  
 Prenter, R. 237, 239, 247, 249, 374, 376, 383 f., 397 f.  
 Pröhle, K. 396, 398  
  
 Quanbeck, W. A. 396



- Rad, G. v. 21 f.  
 Reich, H. 61  
 Rendtorff, T. 308, 310  
 Ritschl, A. 454  
 Ritter, K. B. 318  
 Roloff, J. 398  
 Scheler, M. 37 f., 42, 48  
 Schleiermacher, F. 33 f.,  
 40 f., 50, 89, 356, 454  
 Schlink, E. 8, 290, 422, 424  
 Schmidt, K.-D. 255, 332, 429  
 Schütz, R. 440  
 Shedd, C. 187  
 Skydsgaard, K. E. 315, 403 f.  
 Soucek, J. B. 166  
 Stählin, W. 315, 387, 451  
 Stumpf, K. L. 282  
 Taylor, F. J. 374, 376  
 Thielicke, H. 199, 326, 436  
 Thompson, A. 56, 414  
 Thornton, L. S. 372  
 Thrall, M. E. 248, 264  
 Tillich, P. 375, 378, 382  
 Trillhaas, W. 326, 440  
 Troeltsch, E. 41, 71, 334, 446  
 Vajta, V. 241, 396, 398, 403  
 Visser 't Hooft, W. A. 62,  
 140, 167, 291, 420 f.  
 Wendland, H. D. 310, 317,  
 332, 434  
 Wischmann, A. 160, 211 f.  
 Wölber, H. O. 308, 311  
 Wolf, E. 332, 429  
 Wolf, H. H. 63



# LITERATURE SURVEY

## A REVIEW OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

PUBLISHED AS A SUPPLEMENT TO LUTHERAN WORLD BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY  
OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

JUNE

1960

### International Luther Bibliography

The second International Congress for Luther Research is to take place in Münster, Westphalia, from August 8-13, 1960. Already at the first Luther research congress (at Aarhus in 1956) the Theology Department of the Lutheran World Federation requested the compilation of an international Luther bibliography, containing, as far as possible, the titles of all those books, including individual publications, which are on sale at the present time in the various countries. However, the publication of such a list was delayed for several reasons. In presenting the finished list, we hope that—over and above the purely bibliographical details, which are perhaps of interest to specialists only—it may show something of the radiation of the Reformer's work into the various cultural and geographical areas. Scarcely a month goes by without the appearance of new publications and translations of Luther's writings. As a result, and because we had to turn for help to collaborators located at many points, for the most part, the desired completeness could not be obtained throughout. The assistant in the Theology Department, Pastor Jürgen Roloff, compiled this bibliography on the basis of reports from Luther scholars in various countries. We hereby extend warm thanks to him, as to all those who have helped with this work.

VILMOS VAJTA

### International Luther Bibliography

#### GERMAN

##### I. Total Editions

1. *Martin Luther: Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe.* Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, Weimar. (Weimar Edition.)

Briefwechsel Bd. 10 (1. März 1542 - 31. Dezember 1544), 1947, XVI, 732 S.

Briefwechsel Bd. 11 (1. Januar 1545 - 3. März 1546), 1948, XII, 337 S.

Bd. 58, Teil 1: Gesamtregister. Teil 1, 1948, 322 S.

Die Deutsche Bibel Bd. 8 (Die Übersetzung des 1. Teils des Alten Testaments), 1954, LXXXIV, 680 S.

Die Deutsche Bibel Bd. 9, Hälfte 2 (Die Übersetzung des 2. Teils des Alten Testaments), 1955, XLIX, 394 S.

Die Deutsche Bibel Bd. 10, Hälfte 1 (Die Übersetzung des 3. Teils des Alten Testaments), 1956, VI, 590 S.

Die Deutsche Bibel Bd. 10, Hälfte 2 (Die Übersetzung des 3. Teils des Alten Testaments), 1957, CI, 349 S.

Die Deutsche Bibel Bd. 11, Hälfte 1 (Die Übersetzung des Prophetenteils des Alten Testaments), 1960, XI, 576 S.

Individual volumes, published earlier, are partly still available, but there are plans for a reprint of the Weimar Edition.

2. *Dr. Martin Luthers sämtliche Schriften*, herausgegeben von Dr. Joh. Georg Walch. Neue revidierte Stereotypausgabe, 25 Bde., Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo., 1880-1910.
3. *Luthers Werke in Auswahl: Unter Mitwirkung von Albert Leitzmann*, herausgegeben von Otto Clemen. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.  
Bd. 1, 1950, 512 S.  
Bd. 2, 1950, 464 S.  
Bd. 3, 1950, 516 S.  
Bd. 4, 1950, 432 S.  
Bd. 5, *Der junge Luther*, herausgegeben von Erich Vogelsang, 1955, 434 S.  
Bd. 6, *Luthers Briefe*, herausgegeben von Hanns Rückert, 1955, 451 S.  
Bd. 7, *Predigten*, herausgegeben von Emanuel Hirsch, 1950, 420 S.



- Bd. 8, Tischreden, herausgegeben von Otto Clemen, 1950, 387 S.
4. *Martin Luther, Ausgewählte Werke*: herausgegeben von H. H. Borcherdt und Georg Merz. Christian Kaiser Verlag, München.
    - Bd. 1, Aus der Frühzeit der Reformation, bearbeitet von Georg Merz, Ernst Kinder und Otto Dietz, 1951, 552 S.
    - Bd. 2, Schriften des Jahres 1520, bearbeitet von Georg Merz und Ernst Kinder, 1948, 422 S.
    - Bd. 3, Schriften zur Neuordnung der Gemeinde, des Gottesdienstes und der Lehre, bearbeitet von Georg Merz und Otto Dietz, 1950, 534 S.
    - Bd. 4, Der Kampf gegen Schwarm- und Rottengeister.
    - Bd. 5, Von der Obrigkeit in Familie, Volk und Staat, bearbeitet von Georg Merz, 1952, 452 S.
    - Bd. 6, Bibelübersetzung, Schriftauslegung, Predigt, bearbeitet von Georg Merz, 1958, 485 S.
- Ergänzungsreihe:*
- Bd. 1, Dass der freie Wille nichts sei. Antwort D. Martin Luthers an Erasmus von Rotterdam, übers. von Bruno Jordahn, Einführung und Anmerkungen von Hans-Joachim Iwand.
  - Bd. 2, Vorlesung über den Römerbrief 1515/1516. Übers. und bearbeitet von Eduard Ellwein, 1957, 536 S.
  - Bd. 6, Wider den Löwener Theologen Latomus. Übers. und bearbeitet von Robert Frick, 1953, 183 S.
5. *Luther Deutsch. Die Werke Martin Luthers in neuer Auswahl für die Gegenwart*. Herausgegeben von Kurt Aland. Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1953 ff. Für Westdeutschland: Ehrenfried Klotz Verlag, Stuttgart, 1958 ff. (bisher Bd. 9, Bd. 10, Erg. Bd. III.)
    - Bd. 3, Der neue Glaube (Der Grosse Katechismus. Vom unfreien Willen), 1949, 280 S.
    - Bd. 4, Der Kampf um die reine Lehre. 1950, 319 S.
    - Bd. 5, Die Schriftauslegung, 1951, 367 S.
    - Bd. 6, Kirche und Gemeinde, 1952, 325 S.
    - Bd. 7, Der Christ in der Welt, 1954, 325 S.
    - Bd. 8, Predigten, 1955, 362 S.
    - Bd. 9, Tischreden, 1953, 316 S.
    - Bd. 10, Die Briefe, 1958, 400 S.
 Ergänzungsband III, Luther-Lexikon, 1956, 472 S.
  6. *D. Martin Luthers Evangelien-Auslegung*. Herausgegeben von Lic. Erwin Mühlhaupt. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.
    - Bd. 1, Die Weihnachts- und Vorgeschichten bei Matthäus und Lukas, 1951, 304 S.
    - Bd. 2, Das Matthäus-Evangelium, 1939, 871 S.
    - Bd. 3, Markus- und Lukasevangelium, 1953, 394 S.
    - Bd. 4, Das Johannes-Evangelium mit Ausnahme der Passionstexte, bearbeitet von Dr. theol. Eduard Ellwein, 1954, 637 S.
    - Bd. 5, Die Passions- und Ostergeschichten aus allen vier Evangelien, 1950, 483 S.
  7. *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen-Auslegung*, herausgegeben von Erwin Mühlhaupt, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1. Bd. Psalmen 1-25, 1959, 356 S.
- ## II. Individual Publications
1. *Martin Luther: Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe*. Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, Nr. 50, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1877.
  2. *Martin Luther: Wider Hans Worst*. Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts. Nr. 28, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1880, 74 S.
  3. *Martin Luther: Ein schöner Dialogus von Martino Luther und der geschickten Botschaft aus der Hölle*. Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, Nr. 62, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1886, 29 S.
  4. *Luther und Emser. Ihre Streitschriften*. Bd. I und Bd. II. Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, Nr. 83/84, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1889/91, VIII, 152; XII, 221 S.
  5. *Martin Luther: Ein Urteil der Theologen zu Paris über die Lehre D. Luthers. Ein Gegenurteil D. Luthers*. Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts. Nr. 103, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1892, 67 S.
  6. *Luthers Fabeln*. Nach seiner Handschrift und den Drucken neubearbeitet von Ernst Thiele. Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, Nr. 76. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1911, 41 S.



7. *Der Ruf zur Busse.* Auslegung der sieben Busspsalmen von Martin Luther. Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Georg Helbig, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1949, 108 S.
8. *Luther und die Erzväter.* Auszüge aus Luthers Auslegung zum 1. Buch Mose mit einer theologischen Einleitung. Herausgegeben von Oskar Ziegner, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1952, 152 S.
9. *Martin Luther: Eine einfältige Weise zu beten.* Herausgegeben von Martin Willkomm. Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1952, 32 S.
10. *Martin Luther: Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen.* Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, Nr. 18, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1953, 90 S.
11. *Martin Luther: Abendmahlsbüchlein.* Herausgegeben von Martin Willkomm. Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1954, 32 S.
12. *Martin Luther: Der grosse Katechismus.* Herausgegeben von Gotthilf Hermann. Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1954, 151 S.
13. *Martin Luther: An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation. Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen. Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen.* Mit einer kurzen Biographie herausgegeben von Ernst Kähler. Philipp Reclam Jun., Wiesbaden, Neuaufgabe 1955, 192 S. (Reclams Universal-Bibliothek Nr. 1578/78a), ohne Biographie mit einer Einleitung herausgegeben von Karl Kleinschmidt, Verlag Philipp Reclam Jun., Leipzig, Neuaufgabe 1956, 155 S. (Reclams Universal-Bibliothek Nr. 1578/78a).
14. *Das Lutherwort zum Psalter.* Zusammengestellt von Theodor Brandt. M. B. K. Verlag, Bad Salzuffen. 3. erweiterte Ausgabe, 1956, 316 S.
15. *Luthers Briefe.* Herausgegeben von Reinhard Buchwald. R. Kröner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1956, 290 S. Kröners Taschenausgaben, Bd. 239).
16. *Unseres Herrn Gottes Amt.* Lutherworte über das Predigtamt. Zusammengestellt von Käthe Petzold-Trommer. Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1956, 60 S.
17. *Der Herold Gottes.* Ein Lutherwort für jeden Tag. Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Berlin, 1957, 260 S.
18. *Martin Luther: Das schöne Confitemini* (Scholien zum 118. Psalm). Der 118. Psalm. Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins Neukirchen/Kreis Moers, 1957, 77 S. (Biblische Studien, Heft 18).
19. *Martin Luther: Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* (m. Bibelübersetzungsproben Luthers). Herausgegeben von Karl Bischoff, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1957, 57 S.
20. *Der Knecht Gottes.* Luthers Auslegung zu Jesaja 53 (WA 40, III, 683 ff.). Übersetzt von Hellmuth Robsch. Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1957, 74 S.
21. *Luthers Briefe an seine Käthe.* Erläutert von Otto Clemen. Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1958, 52 S.
22. *Martin Luther: Predigten.* Herausgegeben von Friedrich Gogarten. Eugen Diederichs Verlag, Düsseldorf, 1957, 220 S. Union Verlag, Berlin, 1959, 248 S.
23. *Martin Luther: Die Hauptschriften.* Über 25 Schriften Luthers in einem Band. 3. überarbeitete Auflage, neu herausgegeben von Kurt Aland, Christlicher Zeitschriften-Verlag, Berlin, 1959, VII, 466 S.
24. *Martin Luther: Von der Kraft des Wortes.* Ausgewählte Schriften, Predigten, Gespräche und Briefe. Auswahl von W. Kraus, Textrevision von J. Perfah, Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn & Co., Gütersloh, 1959, 288 S. mit 28 Abb. im Text und 8 Bildtafeln.

## ENGLISH

### I. Total Editions

1. *Works of Martin Luther.* With Introduction and Notes. The Philadelphia Edition. Edited by Henry Eyster Jacobs. 6 Vols. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Muhlenberg Press, 1943. (Reprint from 1915-32).
2. *Luther's Works. American Edition*
  - A. Vols. 1-30. Jaroslav Pelikan, General Editor St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House.
  - Vol. 1, *Lectures on Genesis, Chapters 1-5.* Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan, 1958. XII, 387 pp.
  - Vol. 9, *Lectures on Deuteronomy.* Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan, 1960. 334 pp.
  - Vol. 12, *Selected Psalms I.* Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan, 1955. XI, 418 pp.



- Vol. 13, *Selected Psalms II*. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan, 1956. XII, 451 pp.
- Vol. 14, *Selected Psalms III*. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Daniel E. Poellot, 1958. XII, 368 pp.
- Vol. 21, *The Sermon on the Mount (Sermons) and The Magnificat*. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan, 1956. 383 pp.
- Vol. 22, *Sermons on the Gospel of St. John, Chapters 1-4*. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan, 1957. XI, 558 pp.
- Vol. 23, *Sermons on the Gospel of St. John, Chapters 6-8*. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Daniel E. Poellot, 1959. XI, 448 pp.
- B. Vols. 31-55. Helmut T. Lehmann, General Editor. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Muhlenberg Press.
- Vol. 31, *Career of the Reformer I*. Edited by J. Grimm, 1957. XXII, 416 pp. Out of print (to be reprinted).
- Vol. 32, *Career of the Reformer II*. Edited by George W. Forell, 1958. XX, 303 pp.
- Vol. 34, *Career of the Reformer IV*. Edited by Lewis W. Spitz. 387 pp.
- Vol. 36, *Word and Sacrament II*. Edited by A. R. Wentz, 1959, XII, 389 pp.
- Vol. 40, *Church and Ministry II*. Edited by Conrad Bergendoff, 1958, XV, 410 pp.
- Vol. 51, *Sermons I*. Edited and translated by John W. Doberstein, 1959. XXI, 405 pp.

## II. Individual Publications

1. Martin Luther, *Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters*. 2 Vols. Edited by Smith and Jacobs. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Lutheran Publication Society, 1913.
2. Martin Luther, *The Large Catechism*. Translated by J. N. Lenker. Minneapolis, Minnesota: The Augsburg Publishing House, 1935.
3. Martin Luther, *Christian Liberty*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Muhlenberg Press, 1943.
4. Martin Luther, *Three Treatises*. (Treatises of 1520). Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Muhlenberg Press, 1943.
5. Martin Luther, *Day by Day we Magnify Thee*. (Devotional selections). Edited by Steiner and Scott. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Muhlenberg Press, 1950.
6. Martin Luther, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*. Based on lectures delivered at the University of Wittenberg in the year 1531. (Prepared by Philip S. Watson.) London: James Clarke, 1953. 567 pp. (Published in the USA by Fleming H. Revell, Westwood, New Jersey.)
7. Martin Luther, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*. Translated by John Theodore Mueller. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1954. 224 pp. (*Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. (abridged)*) A new translation by John Theodore Mueller. London: Oliphants, 1955. 207 pp.).
8. Martin Luther, *Letters of Spiritual Counsel*. Edited and translated by Theodore G. Tappert. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Westminster Press, 1955. 367 pp. (Vol. XVIII of Library of Christian Classics). (Published in England by the SCM Press).
9. Martin Luther, *Reformation Writings*. Translated with Introduction and Notes from the definitive Weimar edition by Bertram Lee Woolf. Vol. 2: *The Spirit of the Protestant Reformation*. London: Lutterworth Press, 1956. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956).
10. Martin Luther, *Sermons on the Passion of Christ*. Translated by E. Schmid and J. T. Isensee. (English text edited by Victor E. Beck). Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Press, 1956. VII, 233 pp.
11. Martin Luther, *Devotions and Prayers*. Selected and translated by Andrew Kosten. Grand Rapids, Michigan: The Baker Book House, 1956. 111 pp.
12. Martin Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*. Newly translated by J. I. Packer and O. R. Johnston. London: James Clarke & Co., 1957. 323 pp.
13. Martin Luther, *Commentary on Galatians*. Abridged by T. Graebner. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1957.
14. Martin Luther, *Commentary on Genesis*. 2 Vols. Abridged by T. Graebner. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1958.
15. Martin Luther, *The 95 Theses*. Edited by G. W. Sandt. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, The Muhlenberg Press. Martin Luther, *The 95 Theses*. Edited by E. G. Schwiebert. St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House.



16. *Luther's Table Talk*. Edited by William Hazlitt. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: United Lutheran Publication House.
17. H. T. Kerr, Jr., *A Compend of Luther's Theology*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Westminster Press, 1943.
18. F. Painter, *Luther on Education*. (Includes treatises of Luther from 1524 and 1530). St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House. (Reprint).
19. Ewald M. Plass, *What Luther Says. An Anthology*. 3 Vols. St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1959. XXVI, 1667 pp.
20. *The Martin Luther Christmas Book* with celebrated woodcuts by his contemporaries. Translated and arranged by Roland H. Bainton. Revised Edition. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Muhlenberg Press, 1959.
21. *The Book of Concord*. (English part of Concordia Triglotta.) St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House.
22. *The Book of Concord*. New translation edited by Theodore G. Tappert. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Muhlenberg Press, 1959.

## ARABIC

*Martin Luther: The Small Catechism*. Translated by Herman Schneller and Elias Nasrallah Haddad. 2nd edition. Bethlehem: Commercial Press in Jerusalem, 1959.

## CHINESE

*Martin Luther: Christian Liberty*. Translated by C. J. Voskamp and C. H. Chen. Lutheran Literature Society, 1932. 52 pp.

*Martin Luther: Day by Day we Magnify Thee*. Translated by Charles Wang. Lutheran Literature Society, 1957. 459 pp.

*Martin Luther: Selected Writings, vols. I-II*. Translated by Ching Yu Hsu and Christopher Tang. Published by The Board of Founders of Nanking Theological Seminary in collaboration with The Council on Christian Literature for Overseas Chinese. Vol. I, 1957. 489 pp. Vol. II, 1958. 458 pp.

## DANISH

*Dr. Martin Luthers bibelske skatkiste*. Århus: De unges Forlag, 1918. 238 pp.

*Martin Luther: Fadervor udlagt for jaevne laegfolk* (Exposition of the Lord's Prayer). Danish version by K. Olesen Larsen. Copenhagen: Tidehvervs forlag, 1938. 111 pp.

*Martin Luther: Davids 23 salme* (David's 23rd Psalm). Translated by Georg Hjorth. Evangelisk Luthersk Missionsforenings forlag, 1940.

*Martin Luther: Tekster i udvalgt* (Selected texts), edited by Asger Nyholm and Chr. Raebild. (Texts edited by the Association of Teachers of Religion in Secondary Schools.) Copenhagen: Glydendals forlag, 1944. 52 pp.

*Martin Luther: Den lille katekismus* (The Small Catechism). Copenhagen: Det kgl. Vajsenhus' forlag, 1955. 48 pp.

Johs. Feveile og Max W. Olsen (ed.): *Den danske kirkes bekendelsesskrifter samt dr. Martin Luthers store katekismus* (The Confessions of the Danish Church, with Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism). Copenhagen: Munksgaards forlag, 1955. 201 pp.

*Martin Luther: Om et kristent menneskes frihed* (Christian Liberty). Evangelisk Luthersk Missionsforenings forlag.

## DUTCH

*Maarten Luther: Door het geloof alleen. Bloemlezing uit zijn werken*. (Selection from Luther's Writings). Vert. en ingeleid door Willem Jan Kooiman. Utrecht: J. Bijleveld, 1955. 315 pp.

*Luthers Werken: De Babylonische gevangenschap der Kerk, Brief aan Paus Leo X; De vrijheid von een Christen* (The Babylonian Captivity; letter to Pope Leo X; of Christian Liberty). Vertaling van C. N. Impeta, ingeleid door W. J. Kooiman. Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1959. 171 pp.

*Maarten Luther: De Kleine Catechismus*. Published by the Synodical Board. 26 pp.

## ESTONIAN

*Martina Luter: Mazais Katekisms* (The Small Catechism), Petera Mantnieka Apgads, 1949, 32 pp.

## ETHIOPIA: AMHARIC

*Ye Christena Temhert* (Luther's Small Catechism with Questions). Translated by Twolde Berhan Medhen. Swedish Mission B. V. and Swedish Evangelical Mission. 3rd edition, 1947. 137 pp.



*Ye Christian Haymanot Ariste Negeroch* (Luther's Large Catechism). Translated by Simon Röstin. Swedish Evangelical Mission and Swedish Mission, B. V., 1951. 186 pp.

*Ye Christena Temhert* (Luther's Small Catechism). Translated by Twolde Berhan Medhen. Swedish Mission B. V. and Swedish Evangelical Mission. 3rd edition, 1958. 26 pp.

## FINNISH

### I. Total Editions

*Martti Luther: Valitut teokset* (Selected Writings). Edited by Lennart Pinomaa, Porvoo.

Vol. 1 (*Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum*, 1517; Eyn sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messe, 1520; Vorrede zum ersten Bande der Gesamtausgaben seiner lateinischen Schriften, 1545; Eyn Sermon von dem heyligen Hochwirdigen Sacrament der Taufe, 1519; Die sieben Busspsalmen, 1517; Eyn Sermon von der bereytung zum sterben, 1519; Eyn Sermon von der Betrachtung des heyligen leydens Christi, 1519; Epistola ad Romanos, 1516; Auslegung deutsch des Vater unnser für dye einfeltigen leyen, 1519), 1958, 582 pp.

Vol. 2 (*De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium*, 1520; Vorrede zum ersten Bande der Wittenberger Ausgabe der deutschen Schriften, 1539; Vorreden auff das neue Testament, 1519; Das Magnificat Vertheutschet und aussgelegt, 1521; Von den guten werckenn, 1520; In epistolam Pauli ad Galatas M. Lutheri commentarius, 1519; Operationes in Psalmos, Ps. 22, 1519/21; Von der Freyheyt eyniss Christen menschen, 1520), 1959, 668 pp.

Vol. 3 (*Von den Schlüsseln*, 1530; *Vom ehelichen Leben*, 1522; *Das schöne Confitemini*, 1530; *Von weltlicher Ueberkeytt*, wie weyt man yhr gehorsam schuldig sey, 1523; Eine kurtze vermahnung zu der Beicht, Schlusskapitel des Grossen Katechismus, 1529; *Von Kaufshandlung und Wucher*, 1524; *Rationis Latomianae confutatio*, 1521; *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen*, 1532; *Tessaradecas consolatoria pro laborantibus et oneratis*, 1520; *An die Burgermeyster und Radherrn allerley stedte ynn Deutschen landen*, 1524; *Ausgewählte Tischreden*, Acht Sermon D. M. Luthers von jm gepredigt zu Wittenberg in der Fasten, 1522; *Ob Kriegsleutte auch ynn seligem stande seyn kunden*, 1526; *Bibliography of the Finnish translations of Luther's Writings*, compiled by Lennart Pinomaa, 1959, 650 pp.

### II. Individual Publications

*Martti Luther: Kirkko Postilla I-III* (Kirchen-Postille I-III), Turku 1941-1944.

*Martti Luther: Huone-Postilla I-II* (Haus-Postille I-II), 6th edition, Turku 1945.

*Martti Luther: Iso katekismus* (The Large Catechism). Several Editions in Evankeelis-Luterilaisen kirkon tunnustuskirjat. Helsinki 1944 and in Evangelis-luterilaisen kirkon tunnustuskirjat, Turku 1948.

*Martti Luther: Elämän taistelussa* (Selected Words of Luther), Helsinki 1948.

*Luther opastaa* (Selected Teachings of Luther), Helsinki 1948.

*Martti Luther: Sidottu ratkaisuvälillä* (De servo arbitrio), Turku 1952.

*Oppi-isä Lutherin kolme ajankohtaista selitystä* (Vorlesung über Jesaja, Caput LIII, 1527/29; Sermon von der heubtsumma Gottes gepots, 1525; Von der Widderdtauffe an zween Pfarherrn, 1528), Vaasa 1952.

*Martti Luther: Viimeinen Saarna* (Sermon on Matth. 11,25 ff. zu Eisleben gehalten 1546), Vammala 1953.

*Martti Luther: Pyhän Paavalin Galatalaiskirjeen selitys* (In epistolam S. Pauli ad Galatas Commentarius ex praelectione D. Martini Lutheri collectus, 1535), Turku 1957.

*Lutherin ja Melanchthonin Satu ja vertauskuvia* (Fables by Luther and Melanchthon), Helsinki 1958.

*Martti Luther: Manna Jumalan lapsille* (Meditations on Luther texts), Helsinki 1948.

*Martti Luther: Sana ja armo* (Devotional readings from Luther), Helsinki 1948.

*Martti Luther: Ole turvallisella mielin* (Devotional readings from Luther), Helsinki 1951.

*Martti Luther: Hengellinen virvoittaja* (Devotional readings from Luther), Helsinki 1952.

*Martti Luther: Matkaevästä* (Devotional readings from Luther), Helsinki 1955.

## FRENCH

### I. Martin Luther: Œuvres

Tome 1. — 1. Les sept Psaumes de la Pénitence; 2. Controverse contre la Théologie scolastique; 3. Controverse destinée à montrer la vertu des indulgences; 4. Un sermon sur l'indulgence et la grâce; 5. Controverse tenue à Heidelberg; 6. Explications du Notre Père; 7. Des Bonnes Œuvres. Publiées sous les auspices de l'Alliance nationale des Eglises luthériennes de France et de la revue « Positions luthériennes ». Edition Labor et Fides, Genève, 1957, 308 p.



Tome 5. — 25. Du Serf Arbitre; 26. Si l'on peut fuir devant la Mort; publiées sous les auspices de l'Alliance nationale des Eglises luthériennes de France et de la revue "Positions luthériennes," Edition Labor et Fides, Genève, 1958, 265 p.

Tome 8. — Lettres. Publiées sous les auspices de l'Alliance nationale des Eglises luthériennes de France et la revue "Positions luthériennes," Edition Labor et Fides, Genève, 1959, 218 p.

## II. Individual Publications

*Martin Luther: A la Noblesse chrétienne de la nation allemande. La liberté du chrétien.* Introduction, traduction, notes de Maurice Gravier, avec le texte allemand de la Weimaran. Collection bilingue des Classiques étrangers. Aubier, Editions Montaigne, Paris, 1944, 317 p.

*Martin Luther: Les livres symboliques* (Small Catechism, Large Catechism, Smalcald Articles). Traduction d'A. Jundt. Editions « Je sers », Paris, 1947, 281 p. (en dépôt: Librairie Oberlin, Strasbourg).

*Luther, tel qu'il fut.* Introduction de Daniel Rops. Textes choisis, traduits du latin et de l'allemand et annotés par le Chanoine Cristiani, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1955, 256 p.

*Les plus belles pages de Luther.* Par un ancien pasteur (Bernard de Perrot). Edition du Campanile, Yverdon, 1955, 116 p.

*Martin Luther: Le petit Catéchisme*, publié par l'Eglise luthérienne de France, éditions en français et bilingue, Librairie Oberlin, Strasbourg.

## HUNGARIAN

*Doktor Luther Márton Kis Kátéja.* Fordította és magyarázatokkal ellátta ifj. Pröhle Károly (Doctor Martin Luther's Small Catechism, translated and with an explanation by Károly Pröhle Junior. Official edition). Budapest: Evang. Egyet. Sajtóosztály, 1953. 50 pp.

*Konkordia Könyv.* Az evangélikus egyház hitvallási iratai. II. kötet: A schmalkaldeni cikkek, fordította Pálfi Miklós; Luther Márton Kis Kátéja, függelékében az Esketési könyvecske és a Keresztelési Könyvecske, fordította Pröhle Károly; Luther Márton Nagy Kátéja, fordította Pröhle Károly (Book of Concorde: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Vol. II: The Smalcald Articles, translated by Miklós Pálfi; Martin Luther's Small Catechism, with appendices of the

*Traubüchlein and the Taufbüchlein*, translated by Károly Pröhle; Martin Luther's Large Catechism, translated by Károly Pröhle). Budapest: Evang. Egyet. Sajtóosztály, 1957. 236 pp.

(Both books are obtainable from: Kultura Könyv és Hírlap Külkereskedelmi Vállalat, Budapest VI, Népköztársaság utja 21.)

## INDIAN: TAMIL

*Martin Luther: The Small Catechism*, translated by Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg 1713. The Tranquebar Printing and Publishing House. 40 pp.

*Luther's Small Catechism with Illustrations by Rudolf Schaefer.* Printed and published by the Tranquebar Printing and Publishing House, 1958. 82 pp.

*Luther's Large Catechism with Preface to the Epistle to the Romans*, translated by M. Ellwein. Printed at the Diocesan Press, 1930. Published by the Tranquebar Printing and Publishing House. 182 pp.

*Martin Luther: Christian Liberty.* Translated by S. W. Savarimuthu. Printed and published by The Tranquebar Printing and Publishing House, 1954. 44 pp.

## ITALIAN

*Martin Lutero: Brani Scelti* (Selected Writings). Fratelli Bocca, Editori, Milano (Breviari mistici, N. 9), 1943. 245 pp.

*Martin Lutero: Il Padre Nostro spiegato ai semplici laici*, traduzione e note di Valdo Vinay (Exposition of the Lord's Prayer for simple Laymen, translation and notes by Valdo Vinay). Claudiana: Torre Pellice, 1957. 84 pp.

*Martin Lutero: Scritti religiosi* (Religious Writings), a cura di Valdo Vinay in collaborazione con Giovanni Miegge. Bari Laterza, 1958. 468 pp.

*Martin Lutero: Il Piccolo catechismo* (The Small Catechism). Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1959. (Printed for the Lutheran Church in Italy.)

## JAPANESE

### I. Total Editions

*Martin Luther* (Christian Classics), Shinkyō Shuppansha.



Vol. I. — *Confessio Augustana; Apologia; Large Catechism; Small Catechism; Smalkald Articles; Formula Concordiae* — all abridged — 1955.

Vol. II. — *The 95 Theses; Resolutio pro disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute; Ein Sermon von dem Sakrament der Busse; Ein Sermon von dem heiligen hochwürdigen Sakrament der Taufe; Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Bruderschaften; Ein Sermon von den guten Werken; Deutsche Messe; 1956.*

*Luther's Writings*, Shinkyo Shuppansha

Vol. I. — *The 95 Theses; Seven Penitential Psalms; Disputatio Heidelbergae habita; Exposition of the Lord's Prayer; 1948.*

Vol. II. — *A Sermon on the Holy Sacrament of Christ; Von dem heiligen hochwürdigen Sakrament der Taufe; An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation; Von den guten Werken; Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen; 1959.*

Vol. III. — *De Captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium; Eight Sermons on the Lenten Season; General Situation of the Christian Life; 1957.*

## II. Individual Publications

*Martin Luther: Teologia Deutsch (1518).* Shinkyo Shuppansha, 1949.

*Martin Luther: Vorlesung von dem 82. Psalm.* Luther Sha, 1949.

*Martin Luther: The Small Catechism.* Lutheran Literature Society, 1951.

*Martin Luther: Christian Liberty.* Luther Sha, 1953.

*Martin Luther: Eine kurze Form der zehn Gebote, des Glaubens, des Vaterunsers.* Lutheran Literature Society, 1954.

*Martin Luther: Commentary on Galatians.* Shinkyo Shuppansha, 1956.

*Martin Luther: Selection from Table Talks.* NCC Literature Commission, 1956.

*Words of Prayer and Consolation (Selection from Luther's Writings).* Shinkyo Shuppansha, 1956.

*Martin Luther: The Large Catechism.* Lutheran Literature Society, 1957.

*Martin Luther: Commentary on Galatians.* Seisenkai, 1958.

*Martin Luther: Christian Liberty* (Vorrede zum Neuen Testament Deutsch; Vorrede zum Römerbrief; Vorrede zu den Psalmen.) Iwanami Shoten, 1958.

*Martin Luther: Das Magnificat verdeutscht und ausgelegt.* Iwanami Shoten, 1958.

*Martin Luther: Selected Writings* (Der Kleine Katechismus; Die Schmalkaldischen Artikel; Das Bekenntnis der Artikel des Glaubens; Eine kurze Form der zehn Gebote, des Glaubens, des Vaterunsers). Iwanami Shoten, 1958.

*Martin Luther: Lectures on Romans, Vol. I.* Shinkyo Shuppansha, 1959.

## LAPP

*Luther ucca katekismusaš* (The Small Catechism. Translated by Hans J. Henriksen). Oslo: Schehoug, 1957. 29 pp.

*Doktor Martin Luther kristalaš poastal* (Family Sermons. Facsimile edition of a translation by Nils Vibe Stockfleth which appeared in 1891).

Trondheim: Norges Finnemisjonsselskap, 1958. 727 pp.

*Martin Luther viessu-rukkusgir'ji* (Daily Prayers from Luther's Works. Translated by Jakob Børretzen and Per Soleng). Trondheim: Norges Finnemisjonsselskap, 1958. 333 pp.

## LITHUANIAN

*D. Martyno Liuterio Mazasis Katekizmas* (Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism). Weilheim/Teck: The Atzalyas Lithuanian Publishing House, 1947. 64 pp.

## MALAGASY

*Martin Luther: The Small Catechism.* First printing 1870, by Lutheran Press, now Imprimerie Luthérienne. 30 pp.

*Martin Luther: Advice on the Conduct of a Christian Family.* (Of Marriage, 1530). Norwegian Mission Press, now Imprimerie Luthérienne, 1910. 118 pp.

*Martin Luther: Introduction to Romans.* Translated by Gordon Ruud and L. Munthe. Imprimerie Luthérienne, 1960. 20 pp.

## NEW GUINEA: AMELE

*Katekismus | Anutu je gagahet filfilca* (Luther's Small Catechism). Translated by Wullenkord. Kurum: Lutheran Mission Press, 1928.



## NEW GUINEA: ANGERA

*Katekismos nida anoto nang gan wain* (Luther's Small Catechism). Translated by F. Oertel. Finschhafen: Logaweng Press, 1925. 23 pp.

## NEW GUINEA: PIDGIN-ENGLISH

*Liklik Katekismem* (Luther's Small Catechism) Madang, New Guinea: Lutheran Mission Press, 1958. 26 pp.

*Luther's Small Catechism* is also translated into the following New Guinea languages: KOTTE GEDAGED MEDLPA KAMANO KUMAN and about a dozen others.

## NIGERIAN: EFIK

*Ekpri Ngwed Mbume — Or Martin Luther* (Luther's Small Catechism). Port Harcourt, Nigeria: C. M. S. Press, 1950. 143 pp.

## NIGERIAN: IBO

*Catechism N' Asusu Ibo* (Luther's Small Catechism). Port Harcourt, Nigeria: C. M. S. Press, 1950. 143 pp.

## NIGERIAN: SUDANESE

*Martin Luther: Taimako ga Masu zuwa gan Haske* (The Small Catechism). Translated by Mrs. V. Villesen. Jos: S. I. M. Niger Press. 32 pp.

## NORWEGIAN

*Luthers fortaler til de bibelske bøker*. Besørget ordnet avtrykt efter en bibelutgave af 1589, av Olaus Nielsen (Ed.). Sandefjord, 1934. 254 pp.

*Luthers røst* (Den gode hyrde. Om gjendåp. Bordtaler). Oversatt og innledet av Ernst Orstadt (Ed.). Oslo, 1946. 92 pp.

*Dr. Martin Luthers prekener over alle sön — og helligdagars evangelier og epistler samt lidelseshistorien*. Med en oversikt over Luthers liv. Published by the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church, Oslo, 1949. 638 pp.

*Martin Luthers store katekismus*. F. Wilh. Bugges utg. i ny oversettelse ved det Evang. Luth. Kirkesamfunn. Edited by the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Oslo, 1952.

*En liten håndbok*. Dr. Martin Luthers Lille Katekisme. Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen, 1959. 59 pp.

## PAKISTAN: PUSHTU

*Luther's Small Catechism*. Translated by Jens Christensen. The Danish Pathan Mission, 1936. 96 pp.

## PAKISTAN: URDU

*Luther's Small Catechism*. Translated by Jens Christensen. The Danish Pathan Mission, 1945. 64 pp.

## POLISH

*Mały Katechizm Dra Marcina Lutra* (Luther's Small Catechism). Przekład Komisji Synodalnej. Nakładem Zrzeszenia Polaków Ewangelików w Wielkiej Brytanii, 1947.

*Mały Katechizm Dra Marcina Lutra* (Luther's Small Catechism). London: Polish Lutheran Parish, 1950.

*Mały Katechizm Dra Marcina Lutra* (Luther's Small Catechism). Wydanie VI. Naczelna Rada Kościoła Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego w PRL Warszawa-Bydgoszcz, 1953.

The following texts are in preparation for publication 1960-66.

1. *Mały Katechizm Dra Marcina Lutra z objaśnieniami*. Warsaw: Straznica Ewangeliczna Publishing House.

2. *Duży Katechizm Dra Marcina Lutra — w nowym tłumaczeniu* (Luther's Large Catechism — a New Translation).

3. *Artykuły Szmalckaldéńskie* (The Smalkald Articles).

4. *Wybór myśli z dzieła M. Lutra: "O niewolnej woli ludzkiej."* (Anthology of Dr. M. Luther's "De servo arbitrio.")

## PORTUGUESE

*Martinho Lutero: As 95 Teses* (The 95 Theses). Translated and revised by R. Hasse. Publicado pela Igreja Evangélica Luterana do Brasil. 24 pp.

*O Pequeno Catecismo de D. Martin Luther* (The Large Catechism). Editôra São Leopoldo: Editôra Sinodal, Sinodo Riograndense. 24 pp.

*Martin Luther: Catecismo Menor* (The Small Catechism). Juiz de Fora, 1942.

*Martinho Lutero: As Noventa e Cinco Teses de M. M.* (The 95 Theses). São Paulo: Imprensa Metodista, 1956.



*Martin Luther: Catecismo Menor* (com "Questionario Cristão") (The Small Catechism). 7th edition. Pôrto Alegre: Casa Publicadora Concórdia, 1957.

*Noções elementares do Catecismo Menor do doutor Martinho Lutero*. Editado pela Igreja Evangélica Luterana do Brasil. 4th revised edition. Pôrto Alegre: Casa Publicadora Concórdia, 1957. 96 pp.

*Martin Luther: Da Liberdade Cristã*. (Christian Liberty). Translated by Leonidas Boutin and Heinz Soboll. São Leopoldo: Editora Sinodal, Sínodo Riograndense, 1959.

## SLOVENIAN

*Martin Luther: The Small Catechism*. Translated in cooperation with the Pastors of the Evangelical Seniorate of Murska Sobota, edited by the Evangelical Seniorate of Murska Sobota, 1957. 16 pp.

## SPANISH

*Martin Lutero: El catecismo menor* (The Small Catechism), in *Manual de Culto Cristiano*, Junta de Misiones Americanas de la Iglesia Luterana Unida en América, New York, 1940. pp. 290-404.

*Martin Lutero: Los articulos de Esmalcalda* (The Smalkald Articles). Translated by M. Gutiérrez-Marín, La Aurora Buenos Aires, Casa de publicaciones México, 1944. 93 pp.

*Martin Lutero: Catecismo Mayor* (The Large Catechism). Translated by M. Gutiérrez-Marín, La Aurora Buenos Aires, Casa de Publicaciones México, 1945. 182 pp. (New edition in preparation).

*Martin Lutero: El Padrenuestro* (Exposition of the Lord's Prayer). Translated by Manuel Gutiérrez-Marín, La Aurora Buenos Aires, Casa de Publicaciones México, 1946. 126 pp.

*Martin Lutero: La libertad cristiana* (Christian Liberty). Translated by M. Gutiérrez-Marín, La Aurora Buenos Aires. Casa de Publicaciones México, 1946. 71 pp.

*Martin Lutero: A los burgomaestres y Concejales de todas las ciudades de Alemania* (To the city — councilors of Germany). Translated by Karl Witthaus in *Vox Evangelii*, Facultad Luterana de Teología, Buenos Aires, 1956. pp. 21-44.

*Martin Lutero: Sermón para que se manden los hijos a la escuela* (A Sermon for Children at School). Translated by Karl Witthaus in *Vox Evangelii*, Facultad Luterana de Teología, Buenos Aires, 1956. pp. 45-81.

*Martin Lutero: Breve esenanza sobre lo que debe buscarse en los evangelicos y lo que debe esperarse de ellos*. Translated by C. Witthaus, Ekklesia, Buenos Aires, 1957. No. 1, 16-23.

*Martin Lutero: Exegesis del sexto Salmo Penitencial*. Translated by C. Witthaus, Ekklesia, Buenos Aires, 1957. 11-15.

*Martin Lutero: La luz verdadera*. Translated by C. Witthaus, Ekklesia, Buenos Aires 1, 1957. No. 1, 24.

*Martin Lutero: Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum* (The 95 Theses). Translated from the English in Ingeborg Stales, Martin Lutero. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Minneapolis, Minn. pp. 134-138.

*Martin Lutero: Páginas Selectas* (Selection). Translated by Karl Witthaus, Alberto Suggin, M. Gutiérrez-Marín. Introduction by Rudolf Obermüller, La Aurora, Buenos Aires (presently being printed).

*Martin Lutero: La cautividad babilónica de la iglesia, preludio* (De Captivitate Babylonica). Translated by Karl Witthaus, La Aurora, Buenos Aires (in preparation).

## SWEDISH

*Martin Luther: Om kyrkans babyloniska fångenskap*, övers. fr. latinet jämte inledning av Yngve Brilioth. Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, Stockholm, 1928.

*Luthers lilla katekes*, illustr. Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelsens Bokförlag, Stockholm, 1929 ff.

*Guds ord och löfte*. Dagliga betraktelser av Martin Luther sammanställda av Dr. Karl Witte. Övers. fr. tyskan av Henrik Hägg-lund. Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, Stockholm, 1935 ff.

*Schmallkaldiska artiklarna*. Övers. jämte inledning av Prof. Hjalmar Lindroth, Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1938.

*Martin Luther: Stora Galaterbrevskommentaren*. Ny svensk tolkning jämte inledning av Martin Lindström. Utg. av Samfundet Pro Fide et Christianismo. Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1939.

*Martin Luther: De 95 teserna*. Om avlatens innebörd. Ny övers. fr. latinet av Martin Lindström. Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1947.

*Martin Luther: Om en kristen människas frihet*. Sv. Luth. Evangelieföreningen, Hellsinki, 1957.

*Luthers lilla katekes m. kort utveckling*. Halls Förlag, Jönköping, 1957.



*Martin Luther: Bordsamtal.* Edited by Gunnar Hillerdal, Natur och Kultur, Stockholm, 1957, 140 S.

*Luthers Katekeser.* Med kort inledning av Ruben Josefson. Lilla katekesen i övers. av Sigfrid von Engström, Stora katekesen av Gustav Ljunggren. Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, Stockholm, 1957.

*Ord för dagen. Ur Martin Luthers skrifter.* Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1956.

*Dr. Martin Luthers Lilla katekes.* Med teckningar av Rudolf Schäfer. Göteborg, 1956.

*Dr. Martin Luthers lilla katekes.* Jubileum-supplaga med bilder av Hans Brosamer, Lukas Cranach Sen., Albrecht Dürer. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1958.

#### TANGANYIKA: SWAHILI

*Katekismo Ndogo* (Luther's Small Catechism). Vuga Mission Press, 1953. 31 pp.

#### TANGANYIKA: KINILYAMBA

*Luther's Small Catechism*, translated by George N. Anderson, 1936.

#### TANGANYIKA: KINYATURU

*Luther's Small Catechism*, translated by Howard S. Olson, 1947.

#### TANGANYIKA: BARABAIG (TATOG)

*Luther's Small Catechism*, translated by Harold V. Faust, 1959.

Further translations of Luther's Small Catechism are available in the following languages:

KISHAMBALA KIEENA KINYAKYUSA KINGA  
KIHEHE LAHAYA KIPARA KICHAGGA

#### TAIWANESE

*Luther's Small Catechism with Explanation.* Published in agreement with The China Evangelical Lutheran Church. 8th edition, 1958. 244 pp.

*Martin Luther: The Smalkald Articles.* Translated by Erhardt Riedel, Conrodia Seminary, Chia Yi, Taiwan, 1959, abridged mimeographed edition, 64 pp.

#### UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: ZULU

*Luther's Small Catechism.* Durban, Natal: The Lutheran Publishing House.

#### UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: XHOSA

*Luther's Small Catechism.* Durban: The Lutheran Publishing House.

#### UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: PEDI-SOTHO

*Luther's Small Catechism.* Ebendale: Northern Sotho Book Depot.

#### UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: VENDA

*Luther's Small Catechism.* Tshakuma.

#### AFRIKAANS

*Luther's Small Catechism.* Ebendale: The Northern Sotho Book Depot.



## Biblical Theology

ANCIENT JUDAISM AND THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Frederick C. Grant, New York: Macmillan, 1959. 155 pp. \$3.50.

This brief, popularly written, and largely undocumented work surveys the relations between the early church and its mother-faith. After an introductory section showing how Christian writers of the past have misinterpreted Judaism, the major portion is devoted to a glimpse at a few aspects of ancient Judaism (synagogue, theology, hope, and apocalyptic) and of the New Testament (Jesus as a Galilean, the kingdom of God, and the Bible as a heritage from Judaism). A concluding chapter traces some consequences for the present situation.

The author is professor of biblical theology at Union Theological Seminary in New York. His purpose is polemical throughout. His target is the new, apparently Barthian, orthodoxy which he describes on page 148 as "both agnostic and amoral: agnostic, since God is unknown, and really cannot be known; amoral, since it has nothing to say about duty but only about sin, and condemns moral instruction as tending to 'mere moralism.'"

DER MENSCH ZWISCHEN ZWEI WELTEN: *Der Dualismus der Texte von Qumran (Höhle I) und der Damaskusfragmente. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Evangeliums. (Man between Two Worlds: Dualism in the Qumran Texts and the Damascus Fragment).* By Hans Walter Huppenbauer. Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1959. Sfrs. 19.00.

This Basel dissertation deals with the compilation and classification of various dualistic elements in the Qumran texts, especially as regards their significance for the New Testament. The author allows for their differences by studying the individual texts independently of one another. In the scroll of the sects dualistic thought finds expression, particularly in the distinction between the faithful and the godless, which originates in the question concerning clean and unclean. Contrary to this, in the Hodajoth a metaphysical dualism can be traced which sees the God-man relationship on the basis of Ps. 8:5 and Job 7:17. None of the dualisms occurring here arise from speculation, but from an

ethical interest. They serve as value judgments on the existing world. This is evidenced by the demand to separate clean from unclean, and righteous from unrighteous. Where dualism distinguishes between the physical and the metaphysical, the separation between the ethical and the ontological levels is in line with it, that is, there is a separation between spirit and flesh as in Hellenistic anthropology. While there are a few rare traces of a mythological dualism which crystallizes two personal natures out of the cosmic principle, a theological dualism is altogether lacking here: the Old Testament heritage protects from this. In the appendix an attempt is made to relate the dualistic thought pattern found in the texts to the various thought forms of their contemporary world.

MÄCHTE UND GEWALTEN IM NEUEN TESTAMENT. (*Powers and Principalities in the New Testament*). By Heinrich Schlier. (*Quaestiones disputatae*, ed. by Karl Rahner and Heinrich Schlier.) Freiburg/Brs.: Verlag Herder, 1959. 60 pp.

In this study, the exegete who, after his conversion to the Roman Catholic Church, became professor of patristics at Bonn attempts to gain an insight into what is meant by the New Testament testimonies and hymns, when, at the heart of their message, they speak of the dominion of the powers of this world and Christ's victory over them in a way which is unfamiliar to modern man. The author seeks to prove that it is the nature of these forces so to present and explain the natural, historical and creaturely reality of this world to man that it appears to be decadent, seductive and threatening, but yet eternal. Particularly absorbing are the interpretations along this line of Rev. 13 and also Mark 5. If it is the nature of these forces which deceive men into fear, agitation and guilt to hide themselves in and behind the so-called "corruptible" realities, then the power of the word of Christ is fully revealed when it exposes the hidden power of these demonic forces. Jesus, by his obedience to God and his patient love toward those held captive by these demonic powers, robs them of their despotic force. If in the cross and resurrection of Christ the transitoriness of these forces which misrepresent the creatureliness of the world is declared and they are repudiated in view of the Parousia of Christ,



then the anxious rage of these futureless forces is directed principally against the church as that place of the truth of Jesus Christ, of sacrifice and prayer, where the Christian who is baptized into the life and death of Christ, by fighting his own proneness to temptation, creates room in and around himself for the unobstructed order of creation.

Here the nature and effect of the powers (I), Christ's dominion over the powers of this world (II) and the Christian's struggle against and triumph over them (III) are presented in a language which is influenced by existentialist philosophy. This work reflects a timely and a thorough concern for the statements of the New Testament.

## Historical Theology

**DER BEGRIFF DER HÄRESIE BEI SCHLEIERMACHER.** (*The Concept of Heresy in Schleiermacher.*) By Klaus-Martin Beckmann. (*Forschungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Protestantismus, 10th Series, Vol. XVI.*) Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1959. 143 pp. DM 9.00.

This study of Schleiermacher's concept of heresy originated in a suggestion by Professor Iwand. In this dissertation the author attempts to include "the positive elements of the 19th century despite all of the justified criticism which has been leveled against it" because "it plays a decisive role in the further development of the relationships between the various confessions and in the future of the ecumenical movement." This study begins with the definition of heresy in Schleiermacher's dogmatics (*Glaubenslehre*), shows how it roots in Schleiermacher's Christology and then goes on to win further insights into the criteria by which heresy is determined. Schleiermacher's doctrine of the Scriptures and of the church, with its distinction between Catholicism and Protestantism, influences his understanding of heresy. The author subjects Schleiermacher's thesis of the four unalterable heresies (Manichaenism, Docticism, Ebionitism, and Pelagianism) to historical investigation with the help of F. Chr. Baur, I. A. Dorner, Loofs, W. Bauer, J. Brosch, H. W. Gensichen, and H. Jonas. In the last chapter (V), the author takes up "The Attempt at a Re-definition of Heresy" (115-141)—certainly with constant reference to historical solutions.

A special section deals with Luther and his threefold classification of the basic heresies. Schleiermacher's mistake is due to his Christology. Here the author follows Barth's critique in the *Dogmatics*, 1927.

**DAS GEISTLICHE AMT BEI LUTHER.** (*Luther's Concept of the Ministry.*) By Wilhelm Brunotte. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1959. 205 pp. DM 16.80.

The confessional theology of the 19th century and the Luther research of the 20th have acknowledged that Luther's doctrine of the ministry constitutes a special problem. They have, to some extent, reached contradictory conclusions in their presentations and evaluations of Luther's view. In view of this situation, the author has taken up the task of thoroughly studying Luther's doctrine of the ministry from the original sources. "The nature of the ministry can only be defined by studying the basic questions involved—its origin, its relationship to the congregation, its authority, and the call to the ministry." (p. 32.) The author derives Luther's doctrine of the ministry from six of his writings (the earliest *To the Nobility of the German Nation*, 1520, and the latest *On Councils and the Church*, 1543). Thus he comes to the conclusion that Luther's concept of the ministry was already fully developed in his earlier writings and was only expanded at certain points, but did not undergo any basic modifications in the later ones. After he has studied the sources, the author deals with the systematic problems in Part III. He deals extensively with Luther's doctrine of the priesthood of all believers and shows its relationship to the ministry. Luther sees no fundamental difference between clergy and laity; the differences are only functional ones and differences of authority. The connection between the office of the ministry and the call to the ministry is important for Luther. Thus the ministry is a "calling"; it is instituted by God. Finally, the author traces in short sentences the meaning of Luther's doctrine of the ministry for the contemporary situation, especially in relationship to the understanding of the ministry and ordination.

**NOTEBOOK OF A COLONIAL CLERGYMAN.** By Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. Edited by Theo. G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959. vi and 250 pp., \$3.50.



In 1742 Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was sent out from Halle, Germany, to minister to the spiritual needs of German Lutherans who had settled in southeastern Pennsylvania. For the next forty-five years he was the acknowledged leader of the Lutheran element in the American colonies. Thus, he has been popularly designated as "the Patriarch of American Lutheranism." An astute observer of many phases of the life of his day, he kept a daily journal which is a lively and fertile source of information about eighteenth century America in general and about colonial Lutheranism in particular. The academic world is deeply indebted to Doctors Theo. Tappert and John Doberstein for transcribing and translating Muhlenberg's diaries, which have been published in three large volumes entitled *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942-58). The present volume is composed of well-chosen excerpts from the journals and covers the period from 1742 to 1787.

**DER PSALTER AUF DER KANZEL CALVINS.** *Bisher unbekannte Psalmenpredigten. (The Psalter in Calvin's Preaching. Little known sermons on the Psalms.)* By Erwin Mülhaupt. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1959. DM 13.50.

The Church historian from Wuppertal, Erwin Mülhaupt, known by his multivolume work *Luther's Evangelienauslegung*, presents in this book the as yet unpublished manuscripts of Calvin's sermons. The Psalms play a special role in Calvin's preaching, for he regarded no book of the Bible as highly as he did the Psalms. It was the only Old Testament book on which he would preach on Sunday. The other Old Testament books he would interpret in the week-day services. Mülhaupt has translated the sermons published here from manuscripts found in the library of the University of Geneva, except for one undated manuscript from the National Library in Paris. In his sermons on the Psalms, Calvin particularly emphasized the church (in deep spiritual kinship with Luther), "the majesty of our dear God," knowledge of one's self, and the order of nature. His interpretations of the Psalms are christo-centric. The sermons which are edited here were all preached between 1551 and 1560, three of them in the latter year. They are based on the following psalms: 46, 48, 65, 80, 89, and 147 to 149.

**HEIMLICHE WEISHEIT.** *Mystisches Leben in der evangelischen Christenheit. (Secret Wisdom. The Mystical Life in Protestant Christianity.)* By Walter Nigg. Stuttgart and Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1959. 500 pp. Sfrs. 27.00.

This book is concerned with freeing Protestant mysticism from the charge of heresy which official theology has raised against it, by placing it in a new light. While Catholic mystics are extensively portrayed, the mystical life has largely been hidden in Protestant Christianity. The author finds the legitimization for his purpose in the theology of Luther, in that he tries to find traces of the secret "yes" to mysticism (especially in Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper) under Luther's "no" to mysticism, which was prompted by the Reformer's battle against the enthusiasts. This doctrine, he says, is "mystical realism." The author finds further roots of Protestant mysticism in Thomas Müntzer, Kaspar Schwenckfeld, Sebastian Franck and Valentin Weigel. In a chapter entitled "The Flowering" the following mystics are portrayed: Johann Arndt, who proclaimed true Christianity, Jakob Böhme, Johann Valentin Andreae, Johann Amos Comenius and finally Angelus Silesius, whom—despite the contradictory nature of his appearance—the author describes as a profound Protestant mystic. "The Fruits" of Protestant mysticism can be found in Gottfried Arnold, who fought for the rehabilitation of alleged heretics, in Gerhard Tersteegen, who rediscovered "the Holy" and in the theosophy of Oetinger, in which the feminine element which had been repressed, to the harm of Protestantism, again finds expression. Final traces of Protestant mysticism can be found in Novalis, Schleiermacher, and Fichte. In the latter what occurs, however, is a divorce of mysticism from life, an intellectualization. Thus in German Idealism man takes leave of the divine life. To counteract this the author calls for a rebirth of mysticism, which will not replace dogma, but which, according to Berdyaev, will lead to a greater depth.

**HAT LUTHER PAULUS ENTDECKT?** *Eine Frage zur theologischen Besinnung. (Did Luther discover Paul? A Question for Theological Consideration.) (Studien der Luther-Akademie. Edited by O. Stange; New Series, Vol. 7.)* By Hans Pohlmann. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1959. 148 pp. DM 16.00.



A very thorough investigation of the problem of the chronology of Luther's own Reformation consciousness is concealed behind the title of this book. The author, who adopts and expands, above all, the research of C. Stange, posits the basic thesis that the decisive year for Luther's own Reformation consciousness was neither the year of his tower experience nor the year in which he nailed his theses to the door of the castle church, but the year 1519, or else 1520. The tower experience, with its new understanding of Romans 1:17 does, to be sure, represent a decisive breakthrough to Reformation piety, but it constitutes in no way a finished Reformation theology, something which first developed out of the Leipzig Disputation of 1519 and the writings of 1520.

The author, following the line of K. Holl and O. Scheel, shows that Luther, in his exegesis of Romans 1:17, had, as yet, by no means parted from the exegesis of the church fathers on this text and he certainly had not yet broken with the Roman Catholic Church. The author in no way interprets the tower experience to mean that Luther's confidence in the basis for the papacy was shaken but simply that he became aware of the *extra nos* of salvation. Luther first developed his doctrine of justification into the basic principle *sola fides sine operibus* in the debates with Emser and Eck, and in his controversy with Erasmus in *De Servo Arbitrio* (1525) he finally brought it to completion.

The author confirms and substantiates his thesis with the aid of a lively style and scholarly exactness. Following his thesis, all of Luther's writings before 1520 must be described as "pre-Reformation."

Through this problem the author intends to direct the question contained in the title of his book at contemporary theology.

**KIRCHE IM OSTEN.** *Studien zur ost-europäischen Kirchengeschichte und Kirchenkunde. (The Church in the East. Studies in Eastern European Church History and Denominations.)* Ed. by Robert Stupperich, in conjunction with the Institute of Eastern Churches. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1959. 168 pp. DM 9.80.

With this volume, the professor of church history at the University of Münster in Westphalia, Robert Stupperich, who is at the same time director of the Institute of Eastern Churches there, has published the

second yearbook *Kirche im Osten*. The first has already been well received both in Germany and abroad.

This volume contains an essay section, a survey of the situation during the last year, and a listing of relevant literature. Within the essay section a series of studies dealing with the historical and church law aspects of the Russian Orthodox Church as well as with historical significance of Protestantism in eastern Europe can be found. The editor himself has contributed two studies which deal with the relationship between the Orthodox Church and the state and the historical changes and conditions of Slavic Protestantism, respectively. Peter Hauptmann, assistant at the institute, investigates the experience of being "fools for the sake of Christ" in the Eastern churches. Josef Smolik, professor of practical theology in Prague, presents a noteworthy outline of the basic thought of J. A. Comenius. Besides two essays on the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Soviet Union from 1917-1939 (Hermann Maurer), an essay on the court chaplain, J. Henckel and his relationship to Erasmus of Rotterdam (Adalbert Hudak) and a report of a visit to Athos made by Rev. R. Frew (R. A. Klostermann), a small excerpt from the autobiography of the famous Orthodox theologian Sergij Bulgakov which the editor has included here, deserves special attention.

In Part II, Pastor Spiegel-Schmidt presents a detailed sketch of the development of the churches in the Soviet Union and other eastern European countries from 1957-1958. Harald Kruska gives a good survey of the past and contemporary situation of Protestantism on the other side of the Oder-Neisse line. Josef Smolik presents an anniversary report on the 500-year celebrations of the Moravian Brethren. The concluding section offers studies on the history of the Russian Old Believers (P. Hauptmann), a survey of the Bugenhagen literature on the occasion of the anniversary year 1958, and a detailed survey of German works on Russian church history, compiled by the editor.

All of the essays in this yearbook are the result of thorough study and deserve the attention of all theologians and laymen interested in the problems of the eastern European churches.

**JACOBUS PEREZ VON VALENCIA.** *Untersuchungen zu seinem Psalmenkommentar. (Studies on his Commentary on the Psalms.)*



(*Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie* 28.)  
By Wilfried Werbeck. Tübingen: J. C. B.  
Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1959. 273 pp.

This special study of an exegete of the late Middle Ages, which grew out of a work by Gerhard Ebeling, represents a contribution to the understanding of the exegetical tradition which influenced Luther's exposition of the Psalms. At the same time it is a chapter on the Augustinianism of the late Middle Ages. The life and works of this excellent theologian, whose style is clear and easily understood, are carefully dealt with. In chapters 2-4 the author limits himself to the most important part of his work: the commentary on the Psalms (published in Lyons in 1514). Chapter II: The Quoting of Sources (Augustine and the Rabbis are given precedence); Chapter III: The Hermeneutics of Perez in Relation to the Tradition (the idea and application of *sensus litteralis* and *sensus spiritualis* are given special

consideration). Chapter IV contrasts his expositions of Ps. 26, 89, 39, 129 and 18 to their traditional interpretations, in order to clarify the hermeneutic principles of Perez and to show their application in the detailed exegesis. Chapter V: On the Theology of Perez, contains a total evaluation on Perez. In six sections Werbeck comments on the problem of a late medieval Augustinian school, on Perez' views on the doctrine of the state of integrity and the doctrine of sin, on the effects of baptism and the necessity for acquired virtues, on the necessity for non-sacramental grace, on the work of Christ and finally on the position taken by Perez on the humanity of Christ while in the grave. A. V. Müller and E. Stakemeier, who have written on Perez, are rejected along with H. Jedin as being methodologically unsure, and the question whether there existed in the late Middle Ages an Augustinian theology of research which influenced Luther remains unanswered.

## TRANSLATIONS

DIETRICH BONHOEFFER: *The Cost of Discipleship*. Translated from the German by R. H. Fuller. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959. 285 pp. Revised and unabridged edition containing material not previously translated. \$3.

H. E. BRUNNER: *The Letter to the Romans: A Commentary*. Translated from the German. This English translation is based upon one made by H. A. Kennedy from the 1956 German edition. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959. 168 pp. \$3.50.

YVES CONGAR: *After Nine Hundred Years. The Background of the Schism Between the Eastern and Western Churches*. A translation from the French, originally published as part of 1054-1954 L'Eglise et Les Eglises Editions de Chevetogne, Belgium. New York: Fordham University Press, 1959. 150 pp. \$4.50.

OSCAR CULLMANN: *The Christology of the New Testament*. Translated from the German by Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959. 342 pp. \$6.50.

MAURICE GOGUEL: *Jesus and the Origins of Christianity*. Translated by Olive Wyon with an Introduction by C. Leslie Mitton. New

York: Harper, 1960. 2 volumes. 590 pp. Includes bibliography. New York: Harper Torchbooks, TB 65, 66 The Cloister Library. V. I: \$1.35; V. II: \$1.85.

KARL HOLL: *The Cultural Significance of the Reformation*. Introduction by Wilhelm Pauck. Translated from the German by Karl and Barbara Hertz and John H. Lichtblau. New York: Meridian Books, 1959. 191 pp. (bibl. notes pp. 155-191). \$3.50. Paper: \$1.25.

PHILIPPE MAURY: *Politics and Evangelism*. Translated from the French by Marguerite Wieser. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1959. 120 pp. \$2.95.

BISHOP BJARNE SKARD: *The Incarnation. Christology of the Ecumenical Creeds*. Translated from the Norwegian by Herman E. Jorgensen. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House. 184 pp. \$3.50.

ETHELBERT STAUFFER: *Jesus and His Story*. Translated from the German by Richard and Clara Winston. New York: Knopf Press, 1960. (c. 1959). Includes bibliography, illustr. \$4.

CLAUDE TRESMONTANT: *A Study of Hebrew Thought*. Translated by Michael Francis Gibson. Desclee Company: 1960. \$3.75.

LITERATURE SURVEY is published as appendix to LUTHERAN WORLD by the Department of Theology, Lutheran World Federation, Director Dr. Vilmos Vajta. The contributors to this issue were: Horst Beintker, Greifswald; E. L. Fevold, St. Paul, Minn.; Ronald M. Hals, Columbus, Ohio; Ernst Wilhelm Kohls, Münster; Jürgen Roloff, Geneva; Hans H. Weisgerber, Allendorf/Lahn.

All inquiries should be forwarded to: Department of Theology of LWF, Geneva, Switzerland, 17 Route de Malagnou.



Subscriptions are payable in advance and may be sent to any of the following addresses :

ARGENTINA	1 year \$1.70 2 years \$3.— (or equivalent)	The Rev. Levon H. Spath Casilla Correo 118, Azul - F.C.N.G. - Roca
AUSTRALIA	1 year 18 Austr. s. 2 years 32 Austr. s.	Lutheran Book Depot 19 O'Connell Street, North Adelaide, S.A.
BRITISH GUIANA	1 year BWI \$3.50 2 years BWI \$6.25	The Rev. Aubrey R. Bowen Buxton Village, E. C. Demerara
CANADA	1 year \$2.75 2 years \$5.—	Canadian Lutheran Council 308 Kennedy Street, Winnipeg 2, Manitoba
DENMARK	1 year D. Kr. 13.— 2 years D. Kr. 22.—	The Rev. Arne Thomsen Vendersgade 28, Copenhagen K
ETHIOPIA	1 year Eth. \$5.— 2 years Eth. \$9.—	The Rev. Herbert Schaeffer American Lutheran Mission, Box 1899, Addis Ababa
GERMANY	1 year DM 8.80	Lutheran World 17 route de Malagnou, Geneva
HONG KONG and TAIWAN	1 year HK \$10.— 2 years HK \$18.—	Lutheran Literature Society 33 Granville Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong
ICELAND	1 year I. Kr. 30.— 2 years I. Kr. 54.—	Prof. Thorir Thordarson Tjarnargata 41, Reykjavik
INDIA	1 year 9 Rupees 2 years 16 Rupees	The Christian Literature Society Post Box 501, Park Town, Madras 3
INDONESIA	1 year \$1.75 2 years \$3.— (or equivalent)	The Rev. Gerhard Reitz c/o Nommensen University, Pematang Siantar, Sumatra
JAPAN	1 year 700 Yen 2 years 1200 Yen	Lutheran Literature Society 11, 1 Chome, Iida Machi, Chiyoda Ku, Tokyo
LIBERIA	1 year Lib. \$1.75 2 years Lib. \$3.—	Mr. James McKay Lutheran Mission, Monrovia
MADAGASCAR	1 year CFA Fr. 400 2 years CFA Fr. 720	Imprimerie Luthérienne Avenue Grandidier, Tananarive, B.P. 538
NEW GUINEA	1 year 18 Austr. s. 2 years 32 Austr. s.	Lutheran Mission Press Madang, Terr. of New Guinea
NIGERIA	1 year 12 WA s. 2 years 21 WA s.	Sudan United Mission Bookstore Yola
NORWAY	1 year N. Kr. 13.— 2 years N. Kr. 22.—	The Rev. Henrik Hauge Røahagan 25, Røa, Oslo
SWEDEN	1 year Sw. Kr. 11.— 2 years Sw. Kr. 19.—	The Rev. Åke Kastlund Jakobsbergsgatan 19, III, Stockholm
TANGANYIKA	1 year 12 EA s. 2 years 21 EA s.	Vuga Mission Press P.O. Soni, via Tanga
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	1 year 12 SA s. 2 years 21 SA s.	The Lutheran Publishing House 150 Bellevue Rd., Durban
UNITED KINGDOM	1 year 14 s. 2 years 25 s.	Lutheran Books, Ltd., 71 Edgware Rd., Marble Arch London, W. 2
UNITED STATES	1 year \$2.75 2 years \$5.—	National Lutheran Council 50 Madison Avenue New York 10, N.Y.

If there is no agent in your country or area, subscriptions may be sent directly to LUTHERAN WORLD, 17 route de Malagnou, Geneva, Switzerland, at the rate applicable in your country or the country nearest you.

LUTHERAN WORLD also appears in German. All inquiries concerning the German edition should be addressed to: *Lutherische Rundschau*, Kreuz-Verlag, Lange Strasse 51, Stuttgart N, Germany.